

**Tiyo Soga: Man of Four Names**

**by**

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**Declaration:**

I Joanne Ruth Davis declare that ‘Tiyo Soga, Man of Four Names’ is entirely and completely my own work, and that all the sources that I have used have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signed .....

Date: .....

Place: .....

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## Summary

This study finds its place in a global resurgence of interest in the Reverend Tiyo 'Zisani' Soga and nineteenth century black political activism. It attempts to deepen our understanding of Soga's global milieu and identity, providing an assessment of scholarship on Soga's life and commenting on the major critical works on Soga provided by Williams, de Kock and Attwell and addressing the question of his multiple identities. The thesis explores Soga's relationship with textuality to reveal the struggles he encountered during his career as an author, most especially as the translator of the Bible. This thesis offers a close critical analysis of Soga's handwritten Journal, as well as his letters to the *Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church* and his articles for *Indaba*, translated into English for Williams. It examines Soga's oeuvre, focusing on his words, his orthography, and pays specific attention to the ways in which Soga is represented in the biography written by John Aitken Chalmers, which is taken to be the authoritative text on Soga's life. I argue that Soga's identity is far broader than that which Chalmers describes. Instead I argue that Soga's identity encompassed the dynamic multiplicity inherent in the four names which he carried: his birth name, Zisani, signifying his role and identity as defined by his community; Tiyo, with its variant spellings 'Tyo', 'Tio' and 'Tyro', his name given as a child by which he lived as an adult and was publicly known, and his two chosen pseudonyms, *Defensor*, which signifies the more radical persona Soga adopted, that of politically active defender of the nation, through which I shall argue to Soga expressed solidarity with global African peoples, and *uNonjiba weseluHhlangi*, with its intimations of religiosity permitting an association with Soga through his role as priest and missionary for the United Presbyterian Church, as the validator of African and Xhosa cultural origins. I shall argue that Soga was an early proponent of Black Consciousness and Pan-Negroist philosophies, with ties to other black leaders in America, England and Africa, and that honouring these ideals and ties was a pivotal aspect throughout Soga's life and work.

## Key terms

Reverend Tiyo Soga; South African Literary Theory; Nineteenth century writing; United Presbyterian Church; Revd John Aitken Chalmers; Rev John Whittle Appleyard; Xhosa Bible; Black consciousness theory; Proto Pan-Negroism; African Missionary Studies, Missionary Studies South Africa; Transculturation; Ventriloquism

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## Terminology and Abbreviations

I have omitted all religious titles of all ministers and missionaries after the first mention of a minister or missionary in the entire text. I did wish to keep Rev Soga's religious title in each rendition of his name, because Soga scholarship routinely ignores this as an aspect of Soga's identity which denies him etymologically his identity, and because I wished to avoid confusion between Soga and his father. However, the cumbersome bulk of repeated 'Rev's throughout the thesis proved to be overbearing.

I have used Xhosa spellings as given by Xhosa writers. Soga's grandfather's name is spelt 'Jotelo' and 'Jotello', and his mother's name is spelt as 'NoSutu' and 'NoSuthu.' Sandile's mother, a contemporary of Soga's mother, was also called NoSuthu, and was a very powerful woman who ruled the Xhosa people through her incisive and decisive motivations.

I have referred to Soga's diary lodged at the Howard Pim library at Fort Hare University as his 'handwritten Journal' in all instances in the text.

I have included urls as footnotes when referencing rather than as citations in the text, since citations in the text tend to clutter up the line spacing and interrupt paragraphs. I have also not used page numbers when quoting from websites as these will depend on the screen of the user, not on the text itself.

### Abbreviations:

An Apology for the Kafir Bible (1867)

British and Foreign Bible Society

*Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church*

National Bible Society of Scotland

Shorter Oxford English Dictionary

United Presbyterian Church

Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society

'An Apology' (1867)

B&FBS

MRUPC

NBSS

SOED

UPC

WMMS

## Introduction

Reverend Tiyo Soga has been much in the public eye over the past decade, albeit posthumously, and this thesis consequently finds its place within a groundswell of interest in Soga. The Tiyo Soga memorial in Mgwali was founded on 12 September 2011 chiefly by Soga's great-great-grandchildren, and received much media coverage, with newspaper articles, radio chat shows and television air-time. Several academics have pronounced on Soga's critical historical importance. Historians Bickford-Smith (2011), Johann (2010), Tolly Bradford (2011 and 2010) and Masilela (2007), literary critics Attwell (2005) and De Kock (1996), and religious philosophers Njeza (2000), Khabela (1996) and Saayman (1991) debate Soga's place in South African history very seriously. Mangcu mentioned Soga whilst introducing Cornel West at the 'Meaning of Mandela' HSRC lecture series *Identity and Social Cohesion* on the 13 July 2005, and published articles discussing Soga and the nineteenth-century African intelligentsia in the *Business Day* (2005(a) and (b)), and Thabo Mbeki awarded Soga the revered *Gold Order of Ikhamanga* for his 'exceptional contribution to literature and the struggle for social change'<sup>1</sup> in 2006.

A person of such consuming public intervention deserves to be as famous as Bishop Samuel Crowther, yet Williams comments that, 'Tiyo Soga ha[s] been 'scandalously underrated in South African historiography,' (1978: x). This thesis attempts to redress this subjugation, and to aid in putting Soga 'squarely on the stage' (Williams 1978: xx) of the South African literary and intellectual tradition. Soga was the third African to be ordained as a religious minister and missionary,<sup>2</sup> the first South African man<sup>3</sup> to receive a western secondary and tertiary education.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.info.gov.za/aboutgovt/orders/recipients/2006sept.htm> Bickford-Smith also quotes an article by Mbeki 'in *ANC Today*, the online journal of South Africa's ruling African National party (ANC), in 2001[,] [...] 'Religious Leaders who Immersed Themselves in the Struggle,' where Mbeki hailed Soga as one of the pioneers of the 'struggle'; Soga 'occupied an honoured place as one of those who laid the foundations for the emergence of the African National Congress, the leader of our people in the continuing struggle for genuine liberation,' (Bickford-Smith 2011: 75).

<sup>2</sup> Previous ministers were Bishop Crowther (Williams 1983: xiii), a Yoruban ordained in 1842 in the Anglican Church, and Andrew Murray, a white South African born minister ordained in 1848, (Saayman 1990: 36). African-American ministers were ordained in America and the West Indies before this time, and the Rev. Dr. Garnet was ordained in the UPC in 1852 (Pasternak 1995: 125).

<sup>3</sup> The Glasgow Missionary Society Ladies Report submitted by the Greenock Ladies Association for Promoting Female Education in Caffraria of April 1846 (49) explains:

The labours of the Society hitherto have been merely preliminary – but not on that count devoid of peculiar interest. They have adopted a converted Caffre female, Notishi, who has lately visited this country, as their agent, in promoting the work of female education in her native land. With the view of more fully qualifying her for the sphere of labour in which she is to be

Soga compiled transcriptions of Xhosa oral history. He translated John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* into Xhosa and published the first section as *Uhambo Lomhambi – Owesuka kweli lizwe, waye esinga kwelo lizayo* in 1866. Soga translated various books of the Bible, including the Gospels and Acts, working both alone and within the multi-denominational Board of Revisers. He was an essayist, and gave speeches at public events, some of which were reprinted in local newspapers, *The Kaffrarian Watchman* and *Isigidimi-samaXosa*. Soga was also a contributor to the *Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church (MRUPC)*, and a columnist for *Indaba* newspaper (Williams 1978: 150 – 177), writing under the column 'Zivela Kubabalelani.' Indeed, it is astounding that Soga is not yet reflected in every aspect of South African cultural identities.

This thesis sets out to document and review the work Soga produced, analysing discursive practices in Soga's writing and examining these as evidence of his intellectual endeavours. This is not a historical thesis such as have primarily been produced on Soga (Bickford-Smith 2011, Njeza 2000, Williams 1978 and 1983), but a literary study which engages with Soga's experiences with English and literacy. I seek to provide a discussion of the discursive practices in Soga's writing, and examine Soga's gaze in order to situate Soga within the context of South African literary history. I will also enumerate the worldwide archival holdings in which Soga's work and work related to him are stored, listing all references to Soga. The thesis is a literary study of writing authored by Soga in order to produce a literary history, in the tradition of Mahlasela (1973), Opland (1983, 1998, 2009) and Doke (1958) to document that which is there already; lists in chronological order of the development of literature and writing is a major theme of literary analysis in Western literary history, and the history for the African and 'Second World' (Slemon 2006) context could be just as significant. As De Kock noted in 1996:

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employed, she has been attending the instruction of the most competent teachers in this country – and her progress has been in the highest degree satisfactory. The Sub-Committee, instructed with the superintendence of her education, have been at no little pains to see that her time was fully occupied in acquiring that particular knowledge which would be most useful to her as your agent in Caffraria. She has not merely been taught reading, grammar, writing and arithmetic, and kindred branches, but also needlework and tailoring, and such useful arts as will be of the utmost service. She has shown great zeal to learn – it has not been a task but a pleasure to her. In all the intercourse with her, the Sub-Committee have found reason to esteem her more highly for her good sense, sound judgment, amiable disposition, and devoted piety. While she prizes the many great advantages to be enjoyed in this country, her heart is in Caffraria, and she longs to be there, to communicate to her countrywomen the knowledge of salvation. She will leave this country by the first favourable opportunity that offers, as she is deemed now fully competent of the work assigned her; but this time cannot yet be specified. Meanwhile she continues to prosecute her studies as before, and will do so while she remains in this country.

CWMLF344: 49.

‘[t]hese histories tend to tell us what we already know or should know on an empirical level or what we can find out should we need to. They tell us which works have been written or composed and what they are about. But they do not begin to address more critical issues about the emergence of literary form under contextually specific conditions, and they replicate our divisions instead of scrutinising their coming into being. In these histories, writing tends to be foregrounded at the expense of orature, which as a process is less amenable to the summary of literary product. If, however, one wants to avoid the encyclopaedic approach, you also lose its greatest virtue, which is a clear notion of where the limits are. And anyone who has surveyed southern African literary production over time will tell you that it is vaster than you could imagine, hence the necessity, even in such histories, of contestable summarised narrativisations of literary production.”

1996(b): 86 - 87

This thesis performs a literary analysis in the sense that it is a history of the ways in which the ways in which Soga used texts, and texts have been used in the construction of knowledge about Soga. As such this thesis focuses on the history of literary form in South Africa and attempts also to follow in the tradition of the redemption of histories to study these manipulations of textuality, and the various uses to which texts are put, and their capacities. It sets out to read Soga in the context of contemporary literary criticism. Attwell (2005, 1996, 1994), for example, investigates Soga as a transculturator, while De Kock describes Soga variously as an agonist (1992(d)), a ‘subversive subservient’ (1996(b)) and ‘ambivalently stranded’ (1994(b)), and this thesis will assess the efficacy of these discursive labels.

Williams names Soga as a proto Pan-Negroist and puts him in a group of men including James Africanus Horton, Edward Wilmot Blyden and Alexander Crummell (1978: xix and 1983: 1), and Ndletyana (2008: 12 - 30) and Saayman (1991) have followed suit. Interestingly it is just these men whom Gilroy called ‘progenitor[s] of black nationalism’ (Gilroy 1993: 58) and to whom he accorded the status of being standard-bearers in the counter-culture to modernity for which he argued so convincingly. Bickford-Smith (2011: 77) notes that Soga’s ‘thoughts can be compared to those of the more renowned West Africans Edward Blyden and James Africanus Horton, though there is (as yet) no evidence that they knew of Soga’s journalism, nor that Soga knew of what Blyden and Horton had written while he was still alive.’ Indeed, until the recent work of Canadian historian Dr Tolly Bradford Williams’ assertions remained unsubstantiated, but Bradford (2010) highlights the significance of Williams’ assertion as he explores the similar approaches taken by Soga to Blyden and Crummell in their use of biblical material against entrenched global racism in written public demands for racial equality, and finds that they were associated. Bradford has also retrieved a letter written by Soga in 1872 from *The Celebration of the Ministerial Jubilee of the*

*Rev. William Anderson* (2010: 335), a collection of speeches given on the fiftieth anniversary of the working life of the Rev William Anderson, who baptised Soga in Glasgow on May 14, 1848 (*MRUPC 1843*: Volume III: 118) and after whom Soga and his wife named their first son, in which Soga mentions the global antislavery network. Bradford proves the place of Soga within the international community of missionising churches, depicting Soga as part of the Gilroy-esque global counterculture to modernity. This thesis likewise specifically proves that Soga was a proponent of Black Consciousness, a proto Pan-Negroist with links to Blyden and Crummell through his association with Stella Weims, his first fiancée<sup>4</sup> whom he met during his second visit to Glasgow in 1851, and her adoptive father the Revd. Dr. Henry Highland Garnet, African-American antislavery firebrand and, like Soga, a minister ordained by the United Presbyterian Church and a missionary for their Foreign Missionary Council, but not as a historical study. Instead this thesis will retain a discursive and textual parameter, producing a literary analysis of Soga's words, in proving this relationship. Focusing on narrative devices and rhetorical techniques will enable a literary study which goes towards an understanding of histories and the ways in which they are told. From a South African perspective it is vital and perhaps pivotal that the intellectual importance of Soga is investigated in order that we might expand our knowledge of South African literary history - the history of writing in South Africa - and aid in the development of a tradition, or several traditions, those particular to the Eastern Cape, and those of the globalised world. This study is important from a global perspective because it hopes to deepen knowledge of political bonds between black intellectuals and activists globally, and undertakes to broaden the definition of pan-Negroism.

The nineteenth century introduced the Information Age, with literacy a major feature. Peripheral peoples from around the world took up pens and surprised the literary world with the content of their stories as much as their verbal agility. Irele notes that 'early black authors took up the pen to narrate their own lives in order to enlighten the white world as to the pathos of black experience,' (2001: 49). Manumitted and escaped men and women penned biographies and memoirs and gave public speeches all over the world under the auspices of anti-slavery associations such as the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (Schor 1977: 123), The Free Produce Society (Schor 1977: 111),

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<sup>4</sup> Cousins notes: 'During the early days of his student life his affections had gone forth to a young girl of his own colour, named 'Stella,' who was on a visit to Scotland with her uncle, the Rev Dr. Garnet, from America; but her life was quickly ended after leaving the Scottish shores. Had she lived to be united to him there was every prospect that she would have proved a most excellent wife' (1899: 59).

as well as the World Peace Congresses which took place each July in Europe between 1849 and 1860 (Pasternak 1995: 68). As Bickford-Smith (2011: 87) points out, social mores may have been over-determinedly racist and white supremacist, yet,

[t]he Cape and the Kafirs displayed the growing and empire-wide influence of the pseudo-scientific ideas of racial hierarchy and destiny expressed in Robert Knox's *The Races of Men* in 1850. The popularity of such ideas among white settlers was in turn fuelled by Empire-wide events (including wars on the Eastern Cape frontier) that supposedly 'proved' the difficulty of 'civilizing' indigenous populations, notably the Indian 'Mutiny' of 1857 and the Waikato War of 1863 against the Maori. In March 1865, the British Kaffrarian administration seemed set to bow to such opinion.

Bickford-Smith 2011: 87

Furthermore, Irele explains:

It is of some interest to note that African letters emerged precisely in the same period [eighteenth century England and France] as a small but significant form of participation by the first group of enfranchised and acculturated Africans in one of the great controversies of the day, the question of African slavery. Voltaire's intervention in this question—in the celebrated description in *Candide* of the Surinam slave and his unhappy lot—is, of course, well known, as is the moral dilemma the institution posed to liberal thought in Europe in the Age of Enlightenment and beyond. The particular significance of the Africans' participation resided in their determination to bring their personal experience to bear upon the discussion of this question. The specific lines of development in the reflective discourse enacted by African letters began to be disseminated in this early literature of the eighteenth century, at a period when the historical encounter between Africa and Europe began to reveal itself in its full tragic dimensions.

Irele 2001: 46

For almost a decade during this epoch of active black intellectual political organisation and networking, Soga lived in one of the very hubs of this network: Glasgow. Contemporary critical analysis of Soga has begun to focus on Soga's connection with this race-based activism and therefore on Soga's multifaceted identity, a departure which broadens the central debates about Soga to date, which focus typically on his position as a minister for a European ecumenical body within the Xhosa cultural context. This multifacetedness is exemplified in Soga's use of four names, signalling four specific and equally important identities. Access to multiplicity of identity for subject formation for any race or gender group in the early nineteenth century, with its stress on unified and stable selves, was difficult to attain, and Soga's adoption of two pseudonyms, *Defensor* and *uNonjiba waseluHhangeni*, in addition to the two names given him as a baby by his mother, Zisani, and as a young child by his father, Tiyo, indicate a uniquely dynamic response to his need to move beyond the restrictive expectations of Western liberalism on his person and to his position within the global community, rather than either strictly the Xhosa community and southern African

communities, or the Christian community based in European countries with missions in Africa, Asia and the Americas, as I shall argue below.

Williams situated Soga in the context of nineteenth century global politics and thus inaugurated a central aspect of studies on Soga to engage with Soga's ability to cross culture which has continued to develop with Bickford-Smith and Attwellian discussions on transculturation (1994, 1996, 2005). Perhaps the most significant question asked to date pertaining to the literary history of the Reverend Tiyo Soga has addressed the notion of his 'double consciousness'. Attwell calls H.I.E. Dhlomo's silent character Soga in '*The Girl Who Killed To Save (Nongqause the liberator)* (1985),' a 'suprahistorical figure, a living embodiment of the cultural shift the play seeks to recognise,' (1995: 54)<sup>5</sup> because it shows Soga present but unable to pronounce on the Cattle Killing on his return to South Africa after almost ten years away, spent mainly in Glasgow, a year after the Cattle Killing.<sup>6</sup> Soga's presence in the play shows that his status within the Xhosa community is inviolate and inviolable. Williams ascribes his analysis of Soga's legibility as a proponent of Black Consciousness to his estimation of Soga's spelling and writing techniques which, he says, 'var[y] considerably, to a point where it sometimes seems that a different person is wielding the pen, [...] one is almost tempted to indulge in speculation surrounding graphology...' (1983: 10). Unfortunately Williams thinks further that this erraticism is because Soga was under-educated. He asserts:

After one session, instead of the customary four, at Glasgow University he proceeded, after examination, to the Divinity Hall of the United Presbyterian Church. Perhaps this was a concession to intellectual prowess. However, it was more likely to have been an attempt to hurry his studies along so that he could return to the mission field, as he had expressed a desire to help restart the work in Caffraria.

1978: 23

This assessment has had a profound effect on continuing Soga studies, with each subsequent writer seemingly intent on truncating the length of Soga's education. While validating Soga's 'intellectual prowess,' this assessment implies that Soga's work is in some way impoverished. Khabela agrees with Williams:

At Glasgow University Tiyo spent one session instead of four sessions. Perhaps the authorities wanted to rush him through so that he could return to the mission field.

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<sup>5</sup> This play was actually written by Miss Mary Waters in collaboration with the Rev C. Kots (Mahlasela 1973: 11) originally called '*Ingqawusa*' and translated into Xhosa by H.I.E. Dhlomo. I am most grateful to Cliff Dikeni for alerting me to Mahlasela's work.

<sup>6</sup> Bickford-Smith (2011: 77) states 'Tiyo Soga was in Scotland when the Cattle-Killing occurred, but witnessed its aftermath on his return.' I disagree that this had any implications for Soga's writing.

Soga was however a highly educated man from a highly literate family, and he grew up in the context of the reduction of Xhosa to a written language. Printing presses were installed all over the area, with different mission stations in the immediate vicinity all setting up a printing press and looking for work to publish. Mount Coke, the Wesleyan station, had a printing press run by Appleyard, as did Lovedale, run by the United Presbyterian Church. Soga's elder brother Zaze Soga was a contributor to *Ikwezi*, '*The Morning Star*' (Switzer 1993: 60) which was edited by Rev Laing (Hunter 1873: 352), published jointly for Presbyterians and Methodists (Switzer 1993: 60) and was

one of the first newspapers aimed at the African community, between August 1844 and December 1846. Although only four issues were produced, *Ikwezi* contains the earliest known writing in Xhosa by Xhosa writers.

Switzer 1993: 60

The last issue of *Ikwezi* was published some six months after Soga had been given money possibly by Laing to go to Scotland and continue to be educated there. Were his brother not already a contributor it is questionable whether Soga would have been supported financially in this way. At the time of Soga's writing, missionaries were in the process of reducing Xhosa to a written language, as they had been since John Bennie arrived in 1823 with the first missionary press as part of the Glasgow African Missionary Society.<sup>7</sup> Soga was also a citizen of an epoch in which Xhosa was being reduced as an agglutinative language rather than isolating or inflectional (fusional). Wilhelm von Humboldt coined the term 'agglutination' in relation to language studies in 1836,<sup>8</sup> over a decade after the missionaries began their reduction of Xhosa, and therefore this debate was full of potential at the time that Soga was working. Soga's acumen with words at this level is evidenced in his studies of various language systems, including at least Xhosa, English, Greek and Latin, at Lovedale (Khabela 1996: 14). The study of grammatical parts of speech and their different construction and syntactic placement within these languages, each with vastly different syntaxes and verbal structures, formed part of grammar instruction at this time (Khabela 1996: 14).<sup>9</sup> This

<sup>7</sup> For more information on the history of the mission presses and literacy in South East Africa, see Opland (1983, 1993, 1994 and 1998), Switzer (1993), Gerard (1971) and Jordan (1973).

<sup>8</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agglutinative\\_language](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agglutinative_language)

<sup>9</sup> Soga is always a few years ahead of the keeping of accurate school records. His schooling in South Africa was unrecorded, and accurate records were not kept at Lovedale until after the Nkupiso affair so broadly reported on by Attwell in order ostensibly for Lovedale to maintain its integrity against slanderous onslaught of producing 'bad' graduates (2005: 28). Neither were Soga's grades kept in Glasgow; not at Inchinnan, where he lived with Govan, nor at the John Street Normal School, nor at Glasgow University, from which Soga did not graduate or matriculate. The Theological College does not hold Soga's marks either.



knowledge implies proficiency with the concepts of parts of speech as well as the capacities of these within the different language systems and this knowledge was certainly taken to be the province of Soga's contemporaries and class-mates Charles Pacalt Brownlee, son of Rev Brownlee, who became a magistrate, William Ritchie Thompson and Richard and Bryce Ross (Williams 1967). Soga's acumen with words is further evidenced by his translation of The Pilgrim's Progress (1866) and the Bible. Soga continued to be interested in and focused on orthography until shortly before his death, and he noted in his handwritten Journal in April 1870 that he had attended the day-long meeting of the Board of Orthographers, which met before the thirteen day meeting of the Board of Translators; that is, of the Bible into Xhosa (Williams 1983: 43). Soga penned two letters specifically concerning Appleyard's use of Xhosa prefixes and suffixes in translation of the Bible into Xhosa, and these were printed in a pamphlet entitled '*The Kafir Bible: Rev. J.W. Appleyard's Version judged by Missionaries of Various Denominations, and Others*' (1866) (hereafter referred to as '*The Kafir Bible*' (1866)' – see Appendix A for a copy of this pamphlet) which shows that he was deeply engaged with the properties and capacities of memes, semes and roots in the main of his working career. His two older brothers, Zaze, as noted above, and Festiri, a Christian and a teacher at his own school (MRUPC Vol III No.XXXII August 1848, Switzer 1993: 60) were literate in English and could write, and very possibly their sister Tause, who worked at Uniondale, and their mother, NoSutu, herself a student of Festiri. Soga was registered for a matriculation course as student number 16050/1851 as 'Soga, Tiyo,' and as 'Tiyo S' in the Matriculation Album of the University of Glasgow 1728-1858 (597). The Glasgow University Student Record shows that Soga completed an entire degree, registering in 1851 - 2 for the Latin Class (284), in 1852 - 1853 for the Logic Class (298) and 1853 - 4 for the Ethics Class (315) (see Appendix B for copies of this record). Soga clearly did not leave after one year, and he clearly was not repeating courses, so he must have progressed at a normal pace through the study programme.<sup>10</sup> Yet Soga did not graduate,<sup>11</sup> as the website for the University of Glasgow Centre for International Development explains:

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<sup>10</sup> And Cousins notes:

In November of the year [1851] that Tiyo Soga returned to Scotland, he was matriculated as a student in the Glasgow University, and entered the Latin class, which was then taught by Professor Wm. Ramsay. He also attended the Junior Greek class, then taught by the distinguished Professor Lushington.

1899: 53

<sup>11</sup> The first member of Soga's family to graduate at Glasgow University was Soga's eldest son, William Anderson, who graduated in 1883, and then again in 1894 (Addison, W. Innes - Assistant to the Clerk of Senate (Ed). 1898. A Roll of the Graduates of the University of Glasgow from 31st December 1727 to 31st December, 1897 With Short Biographical Notes. 597).

Initially most students who came to study from Africa intended to study medical degrees. [...] Many of those students who came to study prior to 1900 chose not to graduate. One of these was Tiyo Soga, the son of a Xhosa-speaking chief and one of the first African ordained ministers in South Africa.

<http://www.gla.ac.uk/centres/gcid/historicalperspective/studentconnectionswithafrica/>

accessed on 25 October 2010.

Although the history of Soga's engagement with texts as a student has gaps concerning which subjects were included in the curriculum and the content taught in those subjects, and his marks are never given, there is some information about Soga, all of it valuable. This lack of information is unusual when compared with the full records which were kept for other students in Soga's classes, but his was by no means the only gap in the registers. Within a generation of Soga, Lovedale kept full records for students, after the Nkupiso affair which Attwell comments on (2005, 1996, 1994). Bickford-Smith finds it significant that Soga is said by Chalmers to have read Macaulay and Prescott, showing the importance to our understanding of Soga to know the information which influenced him, the context of his thinking. This thesis has however been at pains not to use Chalmers' work as a basis for study of Soga's life and thinking, beyond one verifiable point, namely the date of Soga's first return to South Africa as the 28<sup>th</sup> October 1849 (1877/78: 48), and two non-verifiable points, that Soga was named Sani by his mother (1877/78: 10) and that Soga had been in love with and engaged to a young woman called Stella (1877/78: 93). Although others have found Chalmers, whose father, the Rev William Chalmers, had taught Soga at the Tyumie station, to greatly enhance their understanding of Soga, this thesis does not accept Chalmers as an authority on Soga; as I shall argue in Chapter Six: *Ventriloquism*, it is my contention that Chalmers uses Soga as a means to express his own life story, and simultaneously subjects Soga to a racist depiction. By extension, I have not used the work of Cousins, Njeza and Ndletyana as primary or secondary sources principally because these writers have based their respective analyses of Soga wholly on Chalmers' work, regardless of how Soga may have been constructed by Chalmers, and blithely uncritical of Chalmers' discourse and metaphors.<sup>12</sup> This thesis sources Williams for his political analyses and the historical facts which he himself verified and brought into the public realm. I have turned to alternative historical constructions to gain a broader picture.

In a paper presented at the Conference on People, Power and Culture: The History of Christianity in

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<sup>12</sup> Bickford-Smith (2011: 81) notes that Jordan, who is discussed below, made a similar choice and only used one of Soga's *Indaba* articles, entitled, '*Mission People and Red People*' to demonstrate Soga's perspective.

South Africa 1792 -1992, *'The Literary and the Historical: Missionary Discourse at Lovedale in the Nineteenth Century and the Contestation of Subjectivity,'* De Kock (1992(b)) explores the validity of using archival holdings such as missionary diaries and narratives, delving into the distinction between literary and historical in order to 'broaden 'literary' studies to encompass an enquiry into the construction of subjectivity by discursive means' (1). De Kock went on to note in 1995 that

historical materialists in cultural studies engaged in disputes with those they were wont to characterise as 'idealists' in the 1970s and 1980s, the argument was often framed as one in which proponents of 'the text itself' as an autonomous – in the best cases, a 'universal' – artefact, were challenged by the 'materialists': those who insisted that the materiality of class relations and forces of production were determining (or at least influential) factors, even in the superstructural sphere of writing and culture.

1995: 67

In proving this holistic view, De Kock is interested to 'shift the ground from a confining obsession with discrete works of literature to a concern with broader questions of textuality and representation, not only in more modern forms, but also in the founding moments of our literary history' (1994(b): 34). In this way he broadens the scope of South African literature to include missionary narratives, advancing the study of 'cultural poetics, or the signifying dimensions of a more general representational contestation,' viewing 'culture as a 'text'' available for far broader analysis than an examination of texts in the literal sense will allow' (1994(b): 34). This is a very necessary, and, for its time, a revolutionary step to take: the poignancy of 1994 in South African history overshadows how little pro-African work had been done in English Departments across South Africa by that date, and how young the field of post-colonial studies was in the whole world, let alone African Philosophy. Anne McClintock had not yet written Imperial Leather, for example. This injunction permits the close critical analysis of works which are not 'formally literary texts (imaginative, fictive, artistic)' (1992(b): 1), and the equivalent treatment of historical documents, above all 'the moral suasion of the sign' (Jean and John Comaroff 1988: 6, in De Kock 1992(b): 2), needs to be validated as a means to create subjectivities. The archives are almost bare of detail on Soga, however, and he remains an enigma. State records for this period do not take much note of Soga, preferring to talk about male adults of his father's generation, including notably Soga's father. Ecumenical records for both the United Presbyterian Church (hereafter referred to as UPC) to which Soga belonged, and the British and Foreign Bible Society (hereafter referred to as the B&FBS) which oversaw the translation of the Bible into most languages across the world are sparse or no longer survive.

Soga's first schooling as a young person was under the tutelage of his elder brother Festiri at Struthers' School, and in 1843 his mother NoSutu placed him at Thyumie, under the care of Mr Chalmers, 'as being more able to give him suitable instructions than Festiri,' (*MRUPC* 1843: Vol III: 120). Here repetition and rote learning were key components of measuring learning; so Rev. William Chalmers notes in his journal on the 4<sup>th</sup> June 1843 that of 'ninety pupils in the Sabbath-school—upwards of 50 of these committed portions of Scripture to memory,' (*The Caffrarian Messenger of the Glasgow African Missionary Society*, CWMLF144: 229). The ease of his statements here indicate a standard to which the teachers and pupils at the other three schools under Chalmers' eyes at the Glasgow African Missionary Society stations, Struthers', Mitchell's and Burnet's Schools, would have been expected to adhere. Soga may have been a student in that class, but Chalmers in turn replaced Soga at Struthers' school, again under tutelage of Festiri (*MRUPC* 1843: Volume III: 120). Soga would have learnt to read and write. Chalmers wrote on the 8<sup>th</sup> June that at the Burnet's school,

... twenty-three children were present – a few of them read the Scriptures, and twelve are writing on slates. The Teacher complains greatly of irregularity of attendance, which is the great hindrance to the progress of education at all our Schools in this country.

CWMLF344. *The Caffrarian Messenger of the Glasgow African Missionary Society* No XV January, 1844: 229

Soga next progressed to Lovedale, famously winning a place and a scholarship despite his mathematical skills (Williams 1978: 11; Khabela: 13 - 14). There he would have studied the Classics, including Latin, both Virgil and Homer, Greek verse and Mathematics.

Solomon, who sent his sons to Lovedale, sparked a furore, objecting that it taught Latin and Mathematics, but Healdtown did not. The *Commercial Advertiser's* editor bit back: '[a]lthough we have never heard a whisper to the detriment of Lovedale, we know from sad experience that the coloured disciples of Virgil and Homer at the Kat River [Healdtown] were wanting in every needful requirement of the moral and social state. Greek verse and sheep-stealing were alike prevalent'. Hewson (1959: II, 183-85): Ft Beaufort MP, RJ Painter, said of Healdtown: 'the higher branches of education are quite unnecessary to such pupils'.

Shepherd (1942: 157 - 58) cited Alexander Duff, 1867. 'Report of Foreign Mission to Free Church...', p.162. WEG Solomon, 1948. *Saul Solomon: 'The Member for Cape Town'*. (Oxford: OUP), p.318: in Starfield 2007: 179 Footnote 97

Khabela notes that '[a]t Lovedale a full curriculum of English, Xhosa, Geography, Mathematics, Latin and Greek was taught and English was enforced as the medium of instruction,' (1996: 14; see also Williams 1983: 23), and Njeza reiterates that 'Lovedale offered quality education to all its students with a broad curriculum that included isiXhosa, Mathematics, Latin and Greek, with

English as a medium of instruction,’ (2000: 92). Soga passed top ‘in all his classes except Mathematics’ (ibid). From a young age Soga was schooled in the art of meaning creation, of persuasion, and history, with age old competitiveness between Greeks and Italians for cultural precedence. Soga also studied the Scottish Assembly’s Shorter Catechism (Khabela 1996: 14).

Soga then accompanied Govan to Scotland with three other students: William Richie Thompson and the two sons of John Ross, a GAMS missionary (Hunter 1873: 353), Richard and Bryce (Williams 1978: 13). Khabela explains that after Soga arrived in Scotland in 1846 he continued his

elementary schooling [first] at a school at Inchinnan, a suburb of Glasgow where Rev Govan had taken charge of a local parish. After Inchinnan, Tiyo was registered at the Glasgow Free Church Normal Seminary, where he remained until he returned to South Africa in June 1848.

1996: 16

I did not locate the records for Soga at the school at Inchinnan, but the FCTC Register of Students for 1845-1881 at Strathclyde University Archive confirms that Soga’s registration number was 111 at the Glasgow Free Church Normal Seminary, and that he was registered on May 20<sup>th</sup> 1847 (FCTC/2/1). That academic year would have closed in July, and Soga would have completed the whole of a second year from September 1847 to July 1848, returning to South Africa on the 28th October 1848 (Chalmers 1877/78: 48). Again there is no accompanying list of classes attended or Soga’s marks,. Perhaps they were expecting him to return imminently to continue with his education. Soga did return to education in Scotland three years later after he again fled a war, this time with the specific intention of taking up missionary studies (Khabela 1996: 17, Williams 1983: 2; 1978: 22; Minutes of the John Street United Presbyterian Church Kirk Street Session, Glasgow, 21<sup>st</sup> October 1851; CH3/806/1).<sup>13</sup> He completed most of a degree and ‘then moved to Divinity Hall in Edinburgh where every second month he had to appear before the Presbytery of Glasgow to be examined in theological studies and for trial preaching,’ (Khabela 1996: 18).

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<sup>13</sup> ‘Appeared Tiyo Soga, along with the Rev. Mr. Niven, Mr. Niven gave a detail of Mr Soga’s conduct and diligence in his work as a teacher during his late mission to Caffraria in that character. He spoke of him in very high terms of commendation. He then gave an account of the reasons which moved him to bring Tiyo home with him to Scotland in feeling from the sesolations of the Caffrarian War. The Session unanimously agreed that when the Sabbath classes undertook the expenses of Mr. Soga’s clothing, Board, etc., they should undertake to hear the expenses of his being educated at College, the Divinity Hall, and to have him prepared for being sent out again to Caffraria as an ordained Missionary; and expressed themselves as being happy in having the opportunity of aiding in the education of one who promised so fairly to be eminent in the missionary field.’ Mitchell Street Library, Glasgow. Minutes of the Board of John Street Church. CH3/806/1.

Whilst Soga may have fled a Frontier War of 1846, Govan's return had nothing to do with that war. Govan had resigned from his post as Governor of Lovedale rather than differentiate between the students on a race basis and teach different content to different race groups, and having neither post nor money to buy property and remain in the Eastern Cape, he returned to Scotland as a matter of course (Williams 1978: 13). Soga would have known about the politics which had caused his chaperone's journey and been constantly alert to the politicised nature of education.<sup>14</sup> The significance of this might also be evidenced in Soga's decision to send his children to Scotland to gain their education when Stewart took over from Govan in 1868 at Lovedale, and began to implement the same racial policies against which Govan had fought so forthrightly, which debate has bedevilled South African education ever since 1848. De Kock (1995: 13) describes as a 'textual struggle' a series of accusations, rebuttals and counter-rebuttals between the editors of and contributors to *The Christian Express* and *Imvo Zabantsundu* during July and August 1885 concerning exactly this issue.<sup>15</sup> The metaphor of a 'slippage of signification' is most useful in describing the history of Soga's oeuvre and contribution to the cultural history of South Africa. The notion of 'textual struggle' represents a power struggle for authority which takes place in words. This thesis addresses the many manifestations of textual struggle which challenged Soga during his life and which have continued to plague Soga's work posthumously. Further, it seeks to provide strategies for reading both those challenges and the responses which Soga achieved.

The activist nature of texts as political has been hotly contested in South African and international academic inquiry. One has only to think of the 'Maki Saki' saga to which De Kock refers in his 1995 article to be reminded of how extensively exaggerated the ironic helplessness of texts to perform political acts is generated:

We are invited to conclude that what Maki Saki later characterises as 'post-modernist-post-colonial-post-structuralist navel-gazing' (Maki Saki 1993: 24) is the root cause of a deeply irresponsible escape from the 'practical challenges' of change on the African continent.

1995: 65

Yet paradoxically the only information which we now have from which to compile a composite

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<sup>14</sup> After appearing before the Committee of the John Street Church to explain his position, Govan was finally asked to return to the Eastern Cape and reinstated to his role on his terms.

<sup>15</sup> This dispute about whether natives should study classical languages at Lovedale alongside their white contemporaries is well documented. Opland discusses it (2004) and A.C. Jordan (1973), and Ntongela Masilela mentions it briefly in 'The Vernacular Press and African Literature,' on ([http://www.pitzer.edu/New\\_African\\_Movement/general/essays/vernacular.htm](http://www.pitzer.edu/New_African_Movement/general/essays/vernacular.htm))

picture of Soga is in those rewritten and edited documents. This thesis will contend that a thorough investigation, research and redemption of subjugated voices is more than a mere record, that it constitutes in itself a political action, and continues to be a valuable challenge to the status quo. The redemption and recovery of South African literary history is important: it is the tale of literature and culture and development. Moreover, Soga clearly used texts as a site of struggle, as a conduit of opinion, as empowering and advancing his interests. From his use of personal letters to friends both nationally and internationally, to his newspaper column entitled, '*Zivela Kubabalelani*' written under the pseudonym *Unonjiba waseluhlangeni*, and transcription of traditional stories, Soga clearly believed in the redemptive capacity and power of textual products. His 'favourite pseudonyms were the 'Defensor' (uMkhuseli) and 'uNonjiba WaseluHlangeni' (the Dove of the Nation[]). Soga also penned letters to the *King William's Town Gazette and the Kaffrarian Banner* deploring racist attitudes and racism, obviously confident in the status of these public papers to provide a vehicle for his as much as any other person's perspectives. The pseudonyms are clearly suggestive of what Soga himself perceived his role to be,' (Njeza 2000: 128). 'Defensor', the pseudonym which Soga used only once, was used to sign the text which has come to be his best known: his letter to the *King William's Town Gazette and Kaffrarian Banner* in which he defends in the strongest possible terms his countrymen specifically and black people globally in response to the letter by Chalmers printed first in *Indaba* in February 1865, '*What is the Destiny of the Kaffir Race?*' and reprinted in the *King William's Town Gazette and Kaffrarian Banner* with a second title, '*Recreations of a missionary*,' (Attwell 2005: 37) (see Appendix C and D respectively for Soga's and Chalmers' letters). This letter was penned in 'exasperation' at the slow pace of civilisation and Christianisation of the Xhosa peoples (Attwell 2005: 37) by Chalmers. Soga's rejoinder is reproduced in Williams 1983: 178 – 182, and is a statement on racism and also on black power. The tone of this text is so inflamed and so inflammatory that Soga cannot sign it 'Soga'; the ecumenical auspices which employ him would surely not tolerate such a hostile political act, especially given that Soga's contract expressly forbade any political interventions (see Appendix O) and also that he appears to have known that Chalmers was the author of this letter; the two men were colleagues within the United Presbyterian Church.

Attwell is the only critic of Soga to discuss the meaning of Soga's choice of pseudonym for this 'unpretending rejoinder' (Soga in Williams 1983: 178) to Chalmers' letter of the same title. Attwell says 'Defensor' is 'from *defensor fidei*, defender of the faith, [and the name sees Soga] positioning himself anonymously as a spiritual guardian on the model provided most obviously by the monarch and head of the Church of England' (2005: 40; 1997: 569 - 70; 1995: 50). It is worth noting the two

meanings of the word ‘*defensor*’ listed in the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary; first, as ‘defender’, and secondly, a meaning derived from Roman History, ‘In the later period of the empire, a provincial magistrate whose duty was to afford protection against oppression by a governor,’ (2002: 625). This name shows us the extent to which Soga may have taken on the mantle of attaining freedom and justice for the Xhosa people specifically, as various colonial governors wreaked havoc with the lands and traditions of Xhosa people, and black people globally. It also proves the extent to which Soga considered his position downgraded, for here he is not a member of the royal lineage, rather a simple magistrate, one who tries to maintain the law for the law-abiding citizens who are vulnerable to exploitation from the governor/s and who indeed, in Soga’s time both in Glasgow and on his return to South Africa, had been immeasurably exploited, as had the land itself. In addition to expropriation of land and the wholesale destruction of the Xhosa political system, Soga pointed out that whole areas were denuded of forests and that rivers had been redirected in order to cater for the needs of the developing colonial settlements, with the consequence that in times of drought there was no water for the Xhosa people themselves (‘*Into The European Interior*’ (*Emlungwini pakati*), *Indaba*, Vol. 1, No. 9, April 1863: 133 -136, in Williams 1983: 163 -167).

This last point was made not under the pseudonym *Defensor* but as *Unonjiba WaseluHlangeni*, which name Williams translated as ‘an enthusiastic enquirer into cultural origins’, (1983: 150) for *Indaba*. The idea of Soga as a pupil of his nation, researching, learning and recording is also one which he refers to in his articles in *Indaba*. In Vol.1, no. 1, August 1862: 9 - 11, Soga writes:

...I envisage in this newspaper a beautiful vessel for preserving the stories, fables, legends, customs, anecdotes and history of the tribes. [...] The subscriber to the journal should preserve the copies and at the end of the year make a bound volume of them. These annual volumes in course of time will become a mine of information and wisdom which will be a precious inheritance for generations of growing children.

Williams 1983: 152

Whilst Njeza translates ‘*Unonjiba Waseluhlangeni*’ as ‘*the Dove of the Nation*,’ he does note that Soga used this ‘nom de plume’ to write

on behalf of those who could not write to defend their interests. This was in line with the traditional concept of shared wisdom.

2000: 128 ff.45

Moreover, there is a religious meaning to the word ‘*uHlanga*’:<sup>16</sup> Janet Hodgson includes this thesis but she notes that ‘*uHlanga* is also the locative form of *uhlanga*, and this was translated by

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<sup>16</sup> See also Chalmers (1877/78: 355).



Nicholson (1858) as ‘cave’ for the Xhosa and Thembu, and ‘reed’ only for the Zulu-speaking people,’ (1982: 18). Asante and Mazama list the word ‘*uHlanga*’ as a praise name for the Supreme Deity (2009: xxvii). ‘*Unonjiba waseluhlangeni*’ may well constitute the assertion of a discursive space in which there is equality between two deities, two belief systems. Yet it is true that Soga has also removed the mantle of the collar of his cloth - Soga seems to have felt this himself in signing himself as *UNonjiba* and writing for his own pleasure as his personality is given free reign for writing. Moreover this act of self-naming is a removal of the mantle of the cloth and an ability to speak freely and constitutes a consolidation and validation of selfhood. The act of self-naming is an act of self-definition and reflects the way history has named and renamed him. It is akin to renaming and self-naming of African-Americans such as Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth (see Gates 1993 and Guy-Buftshell 1995).

Even as a young man Soga understood the political weight of verbal skills, as is evident in the job offered him as government translator in 1851, which he refused (Khabela 1996: 17, Williams 1983: 2; 1978: 22 and Njeza 2000: 102). Soga’s multilingual acumen was recognised as superior even before his second sojourn in Scotland. Njeza notes that Soga also refused to ‘translate some confiscated colonial letters,’ for Chief Maqoma, ‘which would have provided strategic information about colonial troops,’ (101 - 2). Khabela mentions that this was a time of crisis for Soga and he ‘recoiled and kept his mind hidden from his white colleagues’ (1996: 119). The position of translator was precarious and in and of itself would not carry any power, whilst the consequences of unforeseen twists to history may be too heavy, as Pato had discovered in 1847 when Sir Peregrine Maitland reneged on the treaty set up in 1845 (McCall Theal 2010: 483). Williams (in Bennie 1956: 1) explains that the Rev John Bennie likewise had been involved in a fracas with Sandile of which the exact details are not known. Williams queries whether Bennie was stuck in the middle between Sandile and Stretch and could not back down without considerable loss of face (Bennie 1956: 1, Note 2) and implies that this had a definitive impact on his career as he shortly afterwards translated to the Nederlandse Gereformeerde Kerk and changed his parish, starting completely afresh in new pastures.

A primary manifestation of the textual struggles of Soga is that his oeuvre is punctured with gaps. Words are missing even in Soga’s name. Soga’s religious title ‘Reverend’ is never used in reference to him, despite its hard-won reality. Many writers do not even use ‘Soga’ in reference to Soga, both because Xhosa people did not use a patrilineal naming system to create lineages, and because they are concerned about a nomenclature overlap with Soga’s father, whose name was

Soga, who had one name not two, and was called Old Soga. He does feature in archival records, in letters from Stretch (CWML/LMS/Africa.Miscellaneous (Odds) Box 9 Letters). Furthermore, Soga's father is sometimes referred to as 'Jotelo' or 'Jotello', truly the name of Soga's grandfather, who died in the battle of Amalinde (Mqhayi 2010: 424) and after whom Soga's fifth-born son is named.<sup>17</sup> Bickford-Smith defines the two patriarchs distinctly:

Tiyo's father, who became known as Old Soga, was himself the son of Jotello, a leading councillor of Chief Ngqika. Old Soga became a councillor to Sandile who as we have seen was involved with the Cattle-Killing catastrophe of the 1850s. Yet Old Soga was also one of the first African commercial farmers in the Eastern Cape.

2011: 78

Instead, 'Tiyo' is used, despite any confusion with his father. 'Tiyo' is spelt four ways by different writers: 'Tiyo', which is the most common spelling, and the one Soga used himself,<sup>18</sup> 'Tyo,' (Hunter 1873: 375), 'Tio', (Malan 1872: 70 - 71; 76) and 'Tyro' (Strathclyde University Archives, FCTC/2/1: Free Church Training College, Glasgow: Register of Students, 1845-1881). The infantilisation is disturbing. Although '[t]he naming of a boy child is an important matter, and is a right reserved for the father alone,' (J.H. Soga, 1931: 294), Soga was named at birth by his mother, NoSutu, the Great Wife of Soga's father, who named Soga, 'Sani', which is 'a contraction for Zisani meaning, 'What bringest thou?'' (Cousins 1899: 21). Soga's baptism record shows his name as 'Tio S. Soga,' with the 'S' standing presumably for 'Sani,' (CH3/806/12: 94. See Appendix F for this record). The question, 'What bringest thou?' aptly implies that Soga was a go-between, moving towards one community from another, bearing tidings, requests, objects, information. It is a question which even Soga demanded of himself on occasion, such as on 27 June 1858, 'But oh Lord – wilt thou make an instrument in thy hands notwithstanding of what thou knowest me to be--' (Williams 1983: 19). Soga was truly a globalised subject, a cross-border transferrer of skills, bringing Xhosa traditions to his life in Scotland, and vice versa.

'A child may be given its name any time within two or three years after birth,' Khabela explains (1931: 294); Soga's 'father later changed this name to Tiyo after an influential Gaika councillor who was brave at war and wise in counsel' (Khabela 1996: 12; Cousins 1899: 22). The reason for which Soga was renamed as a young boy is not recorded but it signifies something new and

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<sup>17</sup> This is not the stillborn child referred to by Williams (1983: 132); that child was the third born son, in 1859. Please see Appendix E for the Family Register.

<sup>18</sup> Chalmers (1877 and 1878) and Cousins (1899) have a signed picture of Soga facing the frontispiece of their texts in which Soga clearly spells himself 'Tiyo', please see Appendix G for this reproduction.

additional in Soga's experience. Williams advances the idea that 'Tiyo' is 'conceivably derived from 'Theo', [and] named by Christian baptism, short for Theodore, etc,' (1983: 1 ff '\*'') perhaps because the root in Latin means 'of or pertaining to God or gods,' (SOED 2002: 2324). But Njeza notes that this would have been a reversal of the trend of naming Xhosa converts and children European names: the 'European 'Theo' was transculturated into an African 'Tiyo', 'an act of symbolic appropriation' (2000: 87). Njeza states that 'there is no evidence' to prove Williams' theory correct (2000: 87). Moreover, Soga's baptism did not take place in the Eastern Cape, but in Glasgow at the end of his first visit there, on the 7<sup>th</sup> May 1848, performed by Anderson, (*MRUPC*, Vol III No.XXXII, August 1848: 120). No record of Anderson's having given Soga a new name is kept. If Soga had already been baptised the ministers would have known and would not have baptised him a second time.

Cliff Dikeni, who first introduced Soga to my Xhosa II (Standard) class at the University of Cape Town in 1992, argued that Soga was named after the town Theopolis, the capital of Queen Adelaide Province, the Eastern Cape Ceded Territory in which Tiyo was born, as his father had decided to counter the English naming system in which Sir George Grey had named Philopolis after his son Philip, by matching his own child's name to the capital city of Queen Adelaide Province, Theopolis. It is a common misconception that Soga's father was one of the earlier converts to Christianity, and that this choice accompanied his adoption of novel ideas of the colonists.<sup>19</sup> The family had not converted, aside from NoSutu, Soga, and Soga's eldest brother Festiri, who was even more vehemently Christian than Soga (*MRUPC*, Vol III No.XXXII, August 1848: 119 -120) and who had married (CWMLF344: *Seventh Report of the Glasgow African Missionary Society*, 1844: 10 and *The Caffrarian Messenger of the Glasgow African Missionary Society*, December 1845: 266). However this thesis has found that Soga's father never converted to Christianity;<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Indeed, Soga's mother NoSutu must be the Christian convert to whom Peires refers when he states, 'At the same time the seed Ntsikana planted had, through the efforts of men like Tiyo Soga, son of one of Ntsikana's converts, flourished...' (1979a: 61, quoted in De Kock 1996: 58). NoSutu separated from her husband when she converted to Christianity in April 1843 (Seventh Report of the Glasgow African Missionary Society, 1844: 9 - 10), living in Rev William Chalmers' mission station at Tyumie Station as a 'widow' (Njeza 2000: 90) presumably with her children. 'Tshatshu had been converted to Christianity by the London Missionary Society missionaries Vanderkemp, then Mr Williams, and then Mr Brownlee.' CML Jan Tzatzoe and the African Witnesses Before The Committee of the House of Commons July 1836: 103 - 104

<sup>20</sup> His [Tiyo's] father is Soga, an unconverted Caffre. [...] He was the first Caffre that ever whistled between the *stilts* of a plough. Still, however, he continued a wild heathen Caffre, and continues so till this day. (*MRUPC*, Vol III No. XXXII, August 1848: 119). Later, the entry continues, "One of

Soga's father is certainly recorded as having objected vehemently to his other children's engagement with Christianity (*MRUPC*, Vol III No.XXXII, August 1848: 119 - 120). Because Soga's father was not a Christian it also seems unlikely that he would have consented to his son's baptism which included the ascription of a new name to his son.

An important site of struggle pertaining to Soga must be the location of his identity as textual. The ability to construct identity as textual is fraught with theoretical problems concerning the limitations of subjectivity as constructed in words and on the page, with its attendant quandaries over access to voice, authority and autonomy. De Kock asserts the notion of Soga as a textual subject, arguing that Soga was 'conspicuously inscribed within pronounced forms of missionary orthodoxy in a general sense,' (1994(b): 35), however, the three counts on which De Kock presents Soga as a suitable candidate to elucidate his theory can be interrogated. First, De Kock notes that, 'Soga was

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[Festiri's] brothers, whom he had taught to read, returned to his heathen practices; and, after a time, he was seized with a severe illness, and was laid to appearance upon his death-bed. An elder sister died. Soga, who was still a heathen, when he saw disease and death entering his family, charged Festiri and his mother with being the cause of his afflictions. He forbade him to sing the white man's hymns, and he accused the mother with bewitching the children" (*MRUPC*, Vol III No. XXXII, August 1848: 120). Furthermore, in a letter to Colonel Leonard Stretch, James Laing writes from Lovedale on the 29<sup>th</sup> October 1844: "The wooden spade has now given place – in many, perhaps in most, instances as the iron spade – in the tilling of the ground. A few natives at the station use the European plough and sow [sic] wheat and barley. In the valley of the Tyumie where a great deal of land has been turned up by the plough this season, and a considerable part of this belong to natives. The Kaffirs in their untutored state sow [sic] chiefly Indian corn, millet and pumpkins. They are slow to adopt improvements, and I am not aware of any of them having made any perceptible advances in civilization until they have embraced Christianity. Some might perhaps be inclined to mention Soga as an exception to this >>ment [word illegible]. It is true that he made some attempts at improvements in agriculture, but I am not aware that he is going forward, and it is certain that in other things he is not ['before' perhaps - word illegible] the [word illegible] of the people" (SOAS Archives Library: CWM/LMS.Africa. Miscellaneous (Odds) Box 9 Letters: box 9).

There is also the matter of the breakdown in the relationship between Soga's parents, which is seemingly the result of Soga's mother's conversion to Christianity and her ultimatums to his father regarding his keeping of other (junior) wives, and her relationship with Rev William Chalmers, who set up the missionary station and the school in her area and ministered to her. If Soga had converted to Christianity, arguably this would not have been an issue (see *MRUPC*, Vol III and IV MDCCXLIX, August 1848: 120). And finally, the Royal Archives hold a letter from Major John Cowell, the Prince's Governor, written during the tour to Prince Albert, Prince Alfred's father [ref.: RA VIC/ADDA20/69], on the 15 August 1860, writing from Tylden Hotel on the Kri River, Cowell noted that on their ride there from Stutterheim, "...On passing the shoulder of the Amatola Sandile joined the Prince with a party of his followers and the Rev. Mr Tiyo Soga with several worthy members of his cloth. This black or rather brown gentleman's father is one of Sandile's Counsellors, but the wicked old heathen who rode near his side, causes his worthy son inexpressible sorrow..."

conspicuously *inscribed* within pronounced forms of missionary orthodoxy in a general sense,' (1994(b): 35, emphasis in original), and he does not explain this more fully within the body of his text. I understand this to mean that Soga was ordained as a minister and had qualified as a missionary. Secondly, of all the many missionaries who might have 'transformed' Soga into textual versions of the 'model Kafir' or any other type of person as he was 'transformed into a signifier,' (1994(b): 35) during his Glaswegian and South African work, the only two missionaries to do so were Chalmers (1877 and 1878) and Cousins (1897 and 1899). A remarkable finding of my research is that very few missionaries focused on or wrote about Soga; even Appleyard, with whom Soga became embroiled in a war of words with widespread public ramifications as this thesis shall prove, did not comment on Soga in his diary. Remarks like this are misleading and grant Soga a place much more central to the missionaries than it appears they afforded him. De Kock represents Soga's transformation and reduction into a signifier, but Soga did not deal with this putative transformation himself; it was posthumous. Rather De Kock might have noted that Soga's memory or his persona were misappropriated. I also dispute De Kock's assertion that 'Tiyo Soga featured so centrally' within the developing 'sub-genre [which] arose, one which narrated the 'rise' of the putative, generalised African subject from supposed degradation to salvation' (1994(b): 36). Chalmers' text Tiyo Soga: A Page of South African Mission Work, 'offered to the friends of Christian Missions, and very specially to the numerous admirers of TIYO SOGA in Scotland, in the Colony, and in the Mission-field,' (1877/78: Preface), had a print run of two editions of 600 and 1000 copies respectively, and Cousins' text was printed in two editions: today these are hardly commonplace texts, and even Attwell had clearly not read Cousins' texts by the time he wrote his texts on Soga since he refers to Soga's two biographers as Chalmers and Williams (2005: 34 - 35). Since Cousins' texts, Williams has written his Umfundisi (1978) and Journal and Selected Writings of Tiyo Soga (1983), and Saayman has a chapter on Soga (1992): four biographies in a hundred years does not account for the centrality which De Kock wishfully wills for Soga. De Kock maintains, thirdly, that Soga 'wrote about his life in his own hand' (1994(b): 35) which further qualifies him as a subject of the ways in which identity is inscribed in language. Soga however kept one diary, in note formation, about aspects of his work as a missionary. I have assessed the handwritten Journal for the purposes of this thesis, however, useful as that document is to scholastic endeavour pertaining to South African literary history, it does not tell us openly and explicitly about 'his life in his own hand': would that it did. In Section III of this paper, De Kock (1994(b)) mentions that it 'was within the constraints of developing textual currents such as those summarised above, which were defining the destiny of Africa and individual African subjects in the forums of public representation, that a model 'converted' subject such as Tiyo Soga was compelled to

delineate his own role' (42). However, he does not explain how Soga delineated his role, but continues immediately with a discussion of Soga's death in the next sentence, and then to discuss Chalmers' biography.

By contrast, the prevalent ethos in studies on Soga is that historians and literary historians of South Africa have deservedly ignored Soga because of his Anglophilia, because he was a turncoat, a traitor who advanced European colonial systems rather than the sovereignty of the Xhosa (Njeza 2000: 99, 101; Peires; Williams 1978: 26). De Kock (1994(b): 42) describes the ambivalent philosophical approaches to an African missionary as someone who has experienced either a social 'rise' or 'fall,' implying Soga's position as precarious. Masilela explains:

Although Tiyo is generally considered the first major modern African intellectual, the historical position he occupies in South African political and intellectual history is somewhat ambiguous. The reason for this ambivalence is that he has been considered by some of his compatriots to have been a modernizer, through his alignment with Christianity to which his father had converted earlier, and others characterize him to have been a betrayer of traditional societies.

<http://pzacad.pitzer.edu/NAM/presxhos/writers/tsoga/tsogaS.htm>

Masilela explains Soga's 'marginalisation' from Xhosa intellectual history further, noting that Z.K. Matthews omitted to mention Soga 'in his comprehensive remapping of [his] leadership constellation [...] in Imvo Zabantsundu newspaper from June 3rd to November 21st, 1961' and 'that the intellectual generation that followed after [Soga] [...] hardly mentioned him in the existant [sic] archival materials,' despite being, 'intellectual descendants of the great man.' Neither did 'the great Xhosa poet, S. E. K. Mqhayi [...] consider Tiyo Soga in his book of poetry I-Nzuzo (1942)' (ibid). Soga's association with missionaries, particularly his refusal to translate a set of letters from English to Xhosa for Maqoma (Njeza 2000: 101 -102) and his joining of European missionaries at Grahamstown in 1851, after leaving Uniondale, where Soga lived with Niven and Tause between his continental sojourns, are antecedent associations held as further proof of his treachery. Njeza explains:

... Tiyo [...] met with the increasing nationalist feelings of amaXhosa and their militant opposition to European agencies even at Uniondale [...]. The community, parents and students, at Uniondale began to pick on Soga's lack of patriotism shown through his association with Europeans and his disregard for tradition through failure to undergo the initiation rite of circumcision. [...] Subsequently, Soga was forced to leave Uniondale for fear of his life, having chosen to disregard the nationalist call of his people in favour of European missionaries.

2000: 101

Saayman asserts that Soga 'held the basically ('apolitical') Pietistic views of his time' (1991: 63)

and that he ‘apparently maintained the typically Pietist “neutral” view on governmental authority which is in effect a support of and a reliance upon the status quo’ (61). Saayman argues that Soga’s position as a Xhosa ordained priest is ambiguous, and that Xhosa people perceived Soga’s religious status as political affiliation.

[M]issionaries (both Black and White) were placed in an almost untenably ambivalent position. The colonial authority expected of them to be precursors of governmental authority and sources of information of the Black population. For this very reason the missionaries were distrusted by the Blacks, whose trust they had to win for a successful mission.

1991: 59

Williams agrees that in 1851 Soga ‘had grown too far away from traditional Black society to throw in his lot with their protest,’ and continues that Soga ‘was still one of them and in due course would identify himself with their search for ‘national’ identity and consolidation against white territorial and cultural encroachment’, (1978: 21). Bickford-Smith disputes that Soga made any such appeal for sovereignty, and argues that Soga appreciated being a subject of the Queen of England. However I shall argue that Soga was an advocate for and of the sovereignty of Xhosa culture as manifest in language systems. Whilst Soga is singularly written out of South African history, it is equally true that he has never been the subject of a formal renunciation, disavowal or even critique. Mqhayi refers to Soga as ‘Dolo Limdaka’, ‘*Dirty knee*’ in his poems to John Henderson Soga, Soga’s second surviving son, ‘because of his habit of praying,’ as Opland points out, (Mqhayi 2009: 504, translated on 505).<sup>21</sup> Soga’s nickname indicates the extent to which Soga’s religious affiliation was accepted as part of his identity, and not pathologised. The humorous image conjures up a sincere, spontaneous and vivacious person, serious in his endeavours. Mqhayi omitted Soga in *Inzuzo* (1942) but Soga never wrote poetry; in *Umteteli Wabantu* on the 17 December 1927 in a column entitled ‘*URev. Tiyo Soga, UTshaka noMlanjeni*’ (6 - 7 in Opland (Ed) 2009: 228 - 238) Mqhayi described Soga in words of veneration and admiration, calling Soga his esteemed clan name, ‘Jwarha,’ and continuing under the topic, ‘*Books*’;

Who does not know the son of Soga with regard to books? Who does not know his famous hymns, like “Lizalis’ idinga lakho,” “Vuthelani ixilongo” and “Sinesipho esikhulu”? Who does not know *Uhambo lomhambi*, a truly celebrated Xhosa book which he translated into Xhosa so very beautifully?

Mqhayi 2009: 236

Mqhayi’s words are imbued with reverence, and his further description of *Uhambo lomhambi* as ‘a truly celebrated Xhosa book’ (: 236 ) must surely reflect that Soga is an esteemed translator within

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<sup>21</sup> I am greatly indebted to Professor Opland for drawing this name to my attention.

the broader Xhosa community because of that text. Soga's position within the ecumenical structures afforded him power and precedence, but Soga never abused the trust of the Xhosa elders, as Mqhayi notes:

A fellow who respected the red-blanketed people of his home, a fellow who respected that great man his father; who respected his chief Sandile; and who respected King Sarhili, with whom he travelled to King William's Town to meet Prince Alfred in 1861, this Prince who was the son of Queen Victoria.

Mqhayi 2009: 238

'The fact is that the supposed 'true' identity and historical significance of Tiyo Soga has been represented in very different ways over time: as, for instance, exemplary Christian and loyal subject; or as first New African; or as a proponent of certain traditional African 'Ubuntu' values and critic-Christian unfriendliness to strangers; or as father of Black Consciousness; or, as we have seen, as pioneer of the African Nationalist struggle,' (Bickford-Smith 2011: 76). Post-modern and post-structuralist and feminist perspectives have posited selves made of multiple selves, accepting even contradictory selves to operate within the same person, without having to resolve irreconcilable differences. Gilroy (1993: 1) allows academics to cross disciplines and also allows for routedness and a focus on Soga's relationships with global networks. This thesis will argue further that Soga's writing was deliberately deleted from the public archive and his history actively squashed by the various organisations for which Soga worked, whether the United Presbyterian Church (UPC) or the British & Foreign Bible Society (B&FBS) whether during his own lifetime or posthumously, because of his forthright and frank communication style, specifically around issues of race and cultural precedence. De Kock (1995: 76) notes that the textual struggle between *Imvo Zabantsundu* and *The Christian Express* produced [in contemporary literary critics and in Jabavu, the editor of *Imvo*] 'a sensitivity to unsettling loops of signification which occur in each successive displacement of the argument'.<sup>22</sup> Indeed some two decades earlier Soga faced just such 'loops of signification' occurring 'in each successive displacement of the argument' as he battled the Rev John Whittle Appleyard of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) at Mount Coke, who printed his own versions of the Bible in 1846 and in 1859, for primacy in the orthographic representation of Xhosa in the translation of the Bible into Xhosa, asserting his authority of and control over words, Xhosa words, in the context of the translation of the Bible, as I will argue in Chapter Five: *The Audacity of Veracity*.

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<sup>22</sup> See also De Kock, Leon. 1994(b). 'Reading History as Cultural Text; Implications of Postcolonial Critique for Historical Revision and the Case of Tiyo Soga' proceedings from the JSAS 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference: *Paradigms Lost, Paradigms Regained? Southern African Studies in the 1990s*. 16.



Chapter One: *Literature Review* comprises firstly a review of the archival holdings of works on or by Soga, and a history of literature produced on Soga. I have attempted to give as full as possible a contemporary audit of these works. I especially hope that in listing all extant works together, I will aid future scholars on Soga. This will help to guide and crucially to prevent work from being reproduced and to prevent further ‘slippage of signification’ (De Kock 1995: 76) within the critical community. I shall suggest ways in which critics might proceed with Soga studies.

Chapter Two: *Reading Soga (1)* explores the impact of Williams’ analysis of Soga’s handwritten Journal that ‘the handwriting varies considerably, to a point where sometimes it seems that a different person is wielding the pen [...] one is almost tempted to indulge in speculation surrounding graphology, and to ponder on the intricacies of his mind as it wrestled in the deep waters of conflicting cultures’ (1983: 10). I have found to the contrary that Soga’s orthography in English is consistent with the usages of those around him, both in terms of orthography and spelling. The ‘idiosyncra[s]ies and even deficiencies of a significant nature’ (1983: 10) do not tell us as much about Soga as they do about the fact that he was a man of his time and his context, a man of his milieu, an equal of his contemporaries. He did not so much ‘wrestle in the deep waters of conflicting cultures’ as have those two conflicting cultures wrestle him. The one aspect of Soga’s writing which marks him as unique is his punctuation; Soga uses the underscore in varying lengths which I argue may allow us to read foregrounding and backgrounding, following Gough’s (1986) reading of the length of pauses in traditional Xhosa storytelling. De Kock (1996(b)) reads Soga’s work as subversive, operating to acquire and acquiesce to power. I shall argue however that Soga’s work is so bold in its opinions as to make him pre-eminently a leader, of opinions and of people. The superciliousness in acquiescence is entirely absent in Soga. He may be co-operative rather than callous, but he is never ingratiating or sycophantic, never parodic; Soga never condoned racist treatment of black people.

Chapter Three: *Transculturation in Deed* will provide evidence for a firm link between Soga and early Pan-Negroism. The chapter discusses the evolution of transculturation theory in order to determine the relevance and applicability of the label ‘transculturator’ to Soga. It also shows how Soga has been rendered a cipher himself, particularly of transculturation, and shows that the capacity Soga had to impact on and Africanise European culture was removed from him; I also posit Soga’s relationships with African-American antislavery spokespeople such as Frederick Douglass and the Revd. Dr Henry Highland Garnet.

Chapter Four: *Reading Soga (2) Tropes and Scopes* examines the tropes and recurring motifs in his work. I have attempted to read Soga according to Black British and African-American theorists working with Black Atlantic and Diaspora theories, and to place Soga in the context of these theorists. As Hayden White explains,

For rhetoricians, grammarians, and language theorists, tropes are deviations from literal, conventional, or 'proper' language use, swerves in locution sanctioned neither by custom nor logic. Tropes generate figures of speech or thought by their variation from what is 'normally' expected, and by the associations they establish between concepts normally felt not to be related or to be related in ways different from that suggested in the trope itself. If, as Harold Bloom has suggested, a trope can be seen as the linguistic equivalent of a psychological mechanism of defense (a defense against literal meaning in discourse, in the way that repression, regression, projection, and so forth are defenses against the apprehension of death in the psyche), it is always not only a deviation *from* one possible, proper meaning, but also a deviation *towards* another meaning, conception, or ideal of what is right and proper *and true* 'in reality'. [...] And troping is the soul of discourse, therefore, the mechanism without which discourse cannot do its work or achieve its end' (emphasis in original).

1978: 2

Chapter Five: *The Audacity of Veracity* shows the clearest example of Soga's engagement with textual struggle. A group of dissenters including Soga detailed multifarious errors in the translation of the Bible into Xhosa and claimed it to be unusable in the pursuit of winning converts. These critiques were issued together as a printed pamphlet entitled '*The Kafir Bible*' (1866) at Lovedale in 1866.<sup>23</sup> I shall argue that the accusation of Soga's treachery against the Xhosa community is a displaced accusation of treachery against the white missionary brethren who stripped Soga of his title because of his vehement rejection of Appleyard's 1864 edition of the Bible in Xhosa, published as Inncwadi Yezibalo ezingwele eZetestamente endala ne zetestamente entsha, ziguqulwe kwezonteto zanikwa kuqala ngazo by Appleyard on the revolutionary grounds that, through its sheer grammatical and idiomatic incorrectness, it committed 'a violence to the language [Xhosa]' ('*The Kafir Bible*' (1866: 8 and 9). Soga's pride of place in both the pamphlet and Appleyard's rebuttal, An Apology for the Kafir Bible (hereafter referred to as An Apology (1867)) provide the evidence that he was considered an active architect in calling for a revision or a new version to be written. The vehemence with which Appleyard strips Soga of his intellectual credibility is akin to a public flogging, and although Appleyard repeats this with others, he is uniquely denigrating in his treatment of Soga's two papers. Initially other missionaries in the area supported Soga but

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<sup>23</sup> This was approximately in October, and related in a letter from Appleyard to Wesleyan Missionaries dated 20 - 24 Dec 1866. MMS/Correspondence/South Africa/Grahamstown/FBN Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society South Africa Correspondence Bechuana 1864-67 Box 5.

eventually Soga's status as a Christian and his place within the Christian brethren in Caffraria were eroded. Even his status as a Xhosa and an English speaker was called into question, and his contributions to the translation of the Bible were deliberately deleted and destroyed after his death. This thesis shall argue that this is the reason that Soga's religious title was pared from his name; his place in the public archive and in South African history deleted, and his history negated, to the point that by 1961 Z.K. Matthews was unable to gauge Soga's historical stature.

Chapter Six: *Ventriloquism* examines several ways in which Chalmers employs textual ventriloquism, both in his reproduction of Soga's diaries, letters, and in his biography of Soga. I present a critique of Chalmers' autobiographies which explains my claim that they were not based on any finite and academically sound knowledge of Soga. I examine Soga's excerpted extracts which were printed in Chalmers' texts (1877/78). I find that Chalmers effaces his ostensible subject by inscribing his own self-portraiture into his biography of Soga. It is persuasive because Chalmers himself had a full and interesting life. Compelling experiences are produced throughout the text but they are his own experiences, grafted onto Soga's frame.

Soga's era did arguably little for a long-term social transformation which would fundamentally reorganise political relationships between the colonialists and Soga's community and communities around him. This thesis will show that Soga had little cultural authority. In his entry on Soga in *Umteteli waBantu*, Mqhayi explains that Soga was feared and treated badly by white people in his own land because of his education:

[A]n educated black person was hated by the neighbouring whites, who believed that he was going to teach others to be like him! In some places, while travelling with his wife Nosantso (the married name we gave the young woman), a former Miss Burnside, the woman would be welcomed and the man chased outside. He endured such things as a man, and would laugh heartily at some of them.

Mqhayi 2009: 236

This may explain why Soga did so little. People in Soga's community were prejudiced against him because they were racist, and this stunted his experience and ambition. Switzer explains how unique Soga was as an ordained black man:

The Presbyterians had by far the highest education qualifications for its clergy. The theological school established at Lovedale in 1872 was the only institution of its kind in the Cape that attempted to train African students for service in white as well as black congregations (although no African from his mission except Tiyo Soga is known to have ministered to white communicants in the Cape Colony). Nevertheless, only about twenty-two African Presbyterians were ordained between 1856 and 1910.

Switzer 1993: 124

‘The first African ordination in the LMS mission did not occur until 1873, and only about 9 others had been ordained by 1910,’ (Switzer 1993: 125). The significations of Soga’s race confined him to the discursive space of uninitiated novice within the ecumenical fraternity irrespective of his education and relegated to Soga the inferior roles of informant or itinerant, not scriptural scholar and priest. De Kock (1994(a): 66) explores the importance of the Manichean binary oppositions in nineteenth century southern African politics, and, citing JanMohammed (1985: 63), reminds us that this term implies a ‘field of diverse yet interchangeable oppositions between white and black, good and evil, superiority and inferiority, civilisation and savagery, intelligence and emotion, rationality and sensuality, self and Other, subject and object,’ yet it is worth noting that Soga did not experience these oppositions as interchangeable. Whilst Saayman (1993: 31) is at pains to remind us of the power imbalance inherent in the colonial dialectic, Patrick Brantlinger shows that the ‘myth of the genealogy of the dark continent’ was gradual and explains that the second trope of antislavery literature in the period between 1790 and 1840 is that

the Romantics, unlike the Victorians, were able to envisage Africans living freely and happily without European interference. Strike off the fetters which European slavers had placed on them, and the result was a vision of noble savages living in pastoral freedom and innocence. [...] Abolitionist portrayals of Africans as perhaps noble but also innocent or ‘simple’ savages were patronizing and unintentionally derogatory. Nevertheless, portrayals of Africans between 1800 and the 1830s were often both more positive and more open-minded than those of later years.

1985: 170

Soga first arrived in Britain in 1846, just at the close of this social phase. But Brantlinger continues,

By the time of the Berlin Conference of 1884, which is often taken as the start of the ‘scramble for Africa,’ the British tended to see Africa as a center (sic) of evil, a part of the world possessed by a demonic ‘darkness’ or barbarism, represented above all by slavery and cannibalism, which it was their duty to exorcise.

1985: 175

This is exactly Soga’s lifetime. Likewise, Bickford-Smith remarks:

Yet just over a year after [Soga] rebutted Chalmers’ prediction of Xhosa doom, he spoke about his ‘poor countrymen and the ‘dark races of this vast continent’ more generally being ‘left so far behind in civilization and Christian enlightenment’, and hoped that the ‘next wave of development’ would help them. There was no echo here of Blyden’s hope for distinct African development.

Bickford-Smith 2011: 91

What Bickford-Smith fails to acknowledge is that Blyden's project with Liberia was already encountering significant troubles. Garnet arrived in Liberia in 1881 dejected and almost dead (Pasternak 1995: 152); Blyden's hope had already started to run out. Soga could not have known that this was the end of the phase rather than a statement of cultural behaviour. Perhaps Soga's depression charts the relationship between himself as an individual and the racio-political history of the Enlightenment.

## Chapter One: Literature Review

This chapter is a review of Soga's work, detailing the archival holdings which store Soga's work, or those which pertain strictly to Soga, and their nature. There is very little work on or about Soga extant: the story of Soga has been subjugated and deleted in primary texts, whether deliberately or not. Letters have gone missing and the story has been overlooked by historians, who have failed to highlight it in their accounts of the nineteenth century. I shall review all extant work by and on Soga, with a detailed list of information which I believe may yet be found if literary and historical scholarship on Soga continues. This chapter will also include an introduction to the critical and historical work done to date on Soga.

In South Africa, the Amathole Museum in King William's Town holds the original newspaper clippings of Chalmers' article, '*What is the Destiny of the Kafer Race?*' which is reprinted here as Appendix D. Williams notes that there 'are two copies of the [King William's Town] Gazette [and Kaffrarian Banner] available in South Africa: in the Kaffrarian Museum, Kingwilliamstown [sic] and the South African Library, Cape Town,' (1983: 178). This museum has now been renamed, 'The Amathole Museum' and it still holds several issues of the *King William's Town Gazette and the Kaffrarian Banner*, to which Soga wrote, obviously confident in the status of these public papers to provide a vehicle for his as much as any other person's perspectives. The Cory Library at Rhodes University holds some issues of *Indaba*, which was published between August 1862 and early 1865 (Opland 1994: 35) to which Soga contributed a regular column, '*Zivela Kubabalelani*'. His joy in its first edition is clear for all to see:

So it is, night follows day! Greetings, Mr. Editor. We hear that you will be reporting and publishing events. Is it true? So we are to have a national newspaper! The news will come right inside our huts. This is really welcome news. We Xhosas are a race which enjoys a conversation. The sense of well-being among us is to hear something new.

'A National Newspaper,' *Indaba*, Vol. 1, No. 1, August 1862: 9, in Williams 1983: 151

Seven of these articles are recorded in Williams (1983), and an eighth added because of its assumed authorship. I shall take up this discussion more completely in Chapter Four: *Reading Soga (2) Tropes and Scopes*. Interestingly, these articles are translated in Williams (1983: 150 - 177) from *Imibengo* (Bennie, 1935: 28 - 39 and 41 - 53; iguqulwe nguTiyo Soga 54 - 68), which itself is a selection of those texts from *Indaba* which Bennie thought worthy of anthologising. Originally Bennie identified Soga as the author of these articles and the owner of the pseudonym '*Unonjiba waseluhlangeni*'. A detailed analysis of *Indaba* would aid in answering whether there are more

articles by Soga, however I have not been able to locate a full copy of *Indaba*. Several people, acknowledged by Williams in the work itself, are behind Williams' 1983 edition of the Journal (1978: xi, 1983: Frontmatter). Williams remarked in correspondence that he had not personally performed the translation work, retaining an editors' role in managing the transcription work from the handwritten Journal (see Appendix I for email, 3 November 2010).

The Cory Library also has four letters sent from Soga to the Free Church minister Rev Richard Ross and to Soga's life-long friend and co-translator, Rev Bryce Ross (see Appendices H (i) to (iv) for copies).<sup>24</sup> They are lodged with the effects of Ross, not those of Soga. Cory Library also holds the pamphlet entitled '*The Kafir Bible: The Rev J.W.Appleyard's Version Judged by Missionaries of Various Denominations and Others*', which contains the judgments of Soga and several other Missionaries and others on Appleyard's translation of the Bible and was printed at the Mission Press at Lovedale, South Africa, towards the close of 1866. This pamphlet was the subject of much correspondence between the B&FBS, the National Bible Society of Scotland (NBSS) and ministers of the Wesleyan, Methodist and United Presbyterian churches, which I have included within this thesis (see Appendix J for a transcript of this correspondence).<sup>25</sup> The Reverend John Whittle Appleyard, a Wesleyan Methodist missionary based at Mount Coke where he took charge of the Wesleyan Missionary Press (Smith 1889: 41), produced the text An Apology for the Kafir Bible: Being a Reply to the Pamphlet Entitled, 'Rev J.W.Appleyard's Version Judged by Missionaries of Various Denominations and Others' (1867 Mount Coke: Wesleyan Mission Press) (hereafter referred to as An Apology (1867) in response to Soga's and others' critiques of his translation of the Bible into Xhosa which had been printed in London in 1864 and culminated in the formation of the Board of Revisers, an interdenominational body set up to oversee the translation of the Bible into Xhosa. This text is available in the British Library. Here Soga's experience of textual struggle is around the construction of words, down to the complications surrounding spelling and orthographical issues. Although An Apology (1867) is not intrinsically a study of Soga, it comprises the first critique of Soga as a translator, a grammarian and a literary theorist as Appleyard dismisses the many deficiencies outlined by Soga of Appleyard's use of Xhosa, seemingly to regain and/or retain his reputation as an authority in all of the fields in which he finds that Soga evidences Appleyard's lack of understanding. Of all texts pertaining to Soga, An

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<sup>24</sup> I am grateful to T.Bradford for alerting me to these letters.

<sup>25</sup> These letters add up to a thorough documentation of the way in which these men respond to each other and to the contexts in which they moved, whether the United Kingdom, the Eastern Cape or New Zealand, India: there is a wealth of information in these letters and they should be studied as manifestations of the archive.

Apology (1867) is the most focused on Soga's knowledge, but finds that he has none. None of the other critics is disparaged for his knowledge as is Soga. Whilst Appleyard's An Apology (1867) is available in several university and state libraries in South Africa and in Britain, the original critique, *The Reverend Appleyard's Version Judged By Various Missionaries*, printed at Lovedale in 1866 had only been lodged at the National Library of South Africa until this study sought it out. It is not in any other research library in South Africa or in Britain. Excerpts from this pamphlet are reproduced by Appleyard in An Apology (1867) in refuting their critiques against him, and themselves show the extraordinary insights of Soga and other missionaries into language theory. The National Library of South Africa also has *The Cape Monthly Magazine* which published Chalmers' article on Soga, 'Tiyo Soga' in January 1872, six months after Soga's death. No other research repository has this text. See Appendix K for this article.

Appleyard had published The Kafir Language: Comprising A Sketch of its History; which includes A General Classification of South African Dialects, Ethnographical and geographical: Remarks upon its Nature: and A Grammar in 1850, in King William's Town on the Wesleyan Missionary Press, and was recognised as a world-renowned authority on Xhosa grammar and language after the publication of this text. Certainly there is no record that Soga responded negatively to it, whilst he had made earlier requests for Appleyard to address his translations with the aid of a group of translators (B&FBS correspondence). Had Soga found deficiencies in The Kafir Language he would have indicated them. Most of this information is in letters between Appleyard and the B&FBS and is held at the Cambridge University Library, whilst some of the letters are in the holdings of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, at SOAS, as for the London Missionary Society.

It must be noted however that even though a war of verbal viciousness erupted over the translation, and despite the viciousness of Appleyard's An Apology (1867), Appleyard did not mention Soga once in his private journal, and nor did Soga mention Appleyard in his. In 1864, Appleyard published Innewadi Yezibalo ezingcwele eZetestamente endala ne zetestamente entsha, ziguqulwe kwezonteto zanikwa kuqala ngazo (Books of the Old and New Testament, translated into that language) in London where he had finished his translation of the entire Bible into Xhosa, edited by W.C Clowes and Son, B&FBS. Appleyard's posthumous text, The War of the Axe and the Xosa Bible, edited by John Frye, was published in 1971 by C. Struik (PTY.) LTD, and does not mention Soga or the controversy around the translation of the Bible. Neither is Soga's name mentioned in the Rev. Thornley Smith's Memoir of the Rev. John Whittle Appleyard, Wesleyan Missionary in



South Africa (1881), even with Smith's access to Appleyard's papers granted by his wife (Smith: 1889: Acknowledgements). The singularity of Soga's invisibility is striking, and is studied closely in Chapter Five: *The Audacity of Veracity*. The only text in which Soga is mentioned at all is An Apology (1867). The Pamphlet itself has been held only in the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town; I have searched through the B&FBS archives at Cambridge University Library (CUL) and the British Library, Oxford, SOAS, and no repository has a copy of the text. There is a copy of the speech given by Soga to the YMCA in 1865 also held at the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town which houses *The Cape Argus* archives.

Soga's handwritten Journal was lodged at the Howard Pim Library at the University of Fort Hare in 1936 by John Henderson Soga, and extends between April 20 1857 and 30 October 1870, almost a year before Soga's death in 1871. It is in one piece. The content of the handwritten journal (Williams 1983: 9) is one of the primary historiographic reasons for reading it, as it details Soga's life and movements spanning those fifteen years, and also tells us his priorities during that time. Williams calls the handwritten Journal 'a treasure trove of detail [...] indispensable for a variety of disciplines,' with records of, 'texts Tiyo Soga used when he preached [...] the names of chiefs, elders, mission people, missionaries and visitors to Emgwali [...] the numbers and location of people [and] Tiyo Soga's observations on Xhosa customs and tribal politics, and on the relations between the Blacks and white authority,' (1983: 9). Soga's Letterbook is also handwritten in note formation and is lodged at the Howard Pim Library at Fort Hare. The letters are reprinted in Williams (1983: 44 - 68). They give a detailed account of Soga's movements, and several repeat almost verbatim journal entries for the same time, prompting the conclusion that Soga was using his diary as a place to make notes from which he rewrote more detailed documents, mostly for friends and co-members of the United Presbyterian Church. This attests to the methodically self-conscious approach Soga took to writing generally. For the purposes of this degree the original text was not used. The Bible inscribed by Soga (see Appendix L) is lodged with these texts at the Howard Pim Library, which also has some issues of *The King William's Town Gazette and the Kaffrarian Banner*.

In Britain there are a number of research libraries and archives which have information pertaining to Soga or works on him. The Cambridge University Library houses the archives for the British and Foreign Bible Society, and also the materials pertaining to the translation of the Bible into Xhosa. However these holdings are incomplete, and there is no mention of Soga in any of these letters, except for those between Appleyard and the various personages to whom he wrote

concerning An Apology (1867). Because of the way in which the archive for the B&FBS has been sold and resold, and the disorderly fashion in which the different churches have stored their material, there is relevant material in a number of research libraries.<sup>26</sup> The Cambridge University Library holds all the outgoing correspondence between B&FBS officials, with which society the United Presbyterian Church lodged their documents in the early twentieth century.

In 1838 the “Ten Years’ Conflict” in Scotland resulted in the break-up of the original Glasgow Missionary Society, a schism which reflected itself in Caffraria. John Bennie, John Ross, Alexander McDiarmid, James Weir, and James Laing chose to support to the “Glasgow Missionary Society adhering to the principles of the Church of Scotland.” (Shepherd, op.cit., pp91 - 92.). William Govan joined them in 1841 (Ibid., p. 93). [...] the Rev. William Ritchie Thomson [...] left Chumie in 1830 for the Kat River Settlement [...].

Bennie 1956: 1

Many of the documents have not been retained: almost all inbound correspondence, from the rural and marginal missionary stations to the metropolis, has been inexplicably discarded. However, some correspondence was copied into records, and the information is there. Although all kinds of personal idiosyncrasies are susceptible to deletion in this way, there is nary a mistake to be found in the whole tome, making it likely that the transcriptions may be infelicitous to the originals. Nonetheless this archive is a very interesting statement on race relations and I have used it extensively to understand the history of the translation of the Bible into Xhosa, which is the subject of Chapter Five: *The Audacity of Veracity*. They have all Appleyard’s translations and apparently two of Soga’s, Mark and Luke, which I have not been able to access, regrettably.

The School for Oriental and African Studies archives has a copy of Chalmers (1877) and Cousins (1899), and Williams’ works on Soga. Some Glasgow African Missionary Society (GAMS) and Glasgow Missionary Society (GMS) records are lodged here, including information about the women’s branches at Greenock, Dumferline and Stirling. Soga is listed in Christianity and the Natives of South Africa A Year-Book of South African Missions (Taylor 1928: 376) published under the Auspices of the General Missionary Conference of South Africa. Surprisingly, other ministers working alongside Soga did not mention him. Reverends Stewart, Torrend, Kropf, Guthrie, Davis, Boyce, Bennie and one-time London Missionary Society Missionary Livingstone; none of these emissaries for their respective churches has included even a word about Soga. SOAS houses the archives of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries Society and the London Missionary

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<sup>26</sup> Soga’s legacy is at the mercy of the history of the UPC, as the records have been moved or sold as the UPC changed affiliations along the way. <http://www.mundus.ac.uk/cats/14/1029.htm>

Society, some of which mention the translation of the Bible into Xhosa, as well as boxes and boxes of correspondence, maps and pictures, within the field of study. These all contribute to a greater understanding of Soga's context, a greater vision of the landscape.

Here is Chumie in 1844 or 1845 according to the eye of 'A. Campbel of Glasgow,' the signed author of the piece, when Soga was moving between W. Chalmers' school and his brother Festiri at Struthers' school.



**Figure 1 GAMS Eighth Report April 1845: CWML F344. Holdings: 1846. Sketch inside front page of the volume.**





and at the Bodleian Library.

Chapter Seven TEDUKA. TIO SOGA'S HOME. LORD'S DAY. KRELI, CHIEF OF THE GALEKAS. 13th January.

Capt. Blythe and Mr Sclater

Icuwa River – close to Felkman's Mimosa trees Felkman's station, Zazulwana, named from the stream near it. We soon reached Teduka after leaving Mr. Finn's. A pretty little church, with a belfry, stands near the mission house. Here Tio Soga, the first Kaffir minister of Christ, preached the gospel to his heathen fellow-countrymen. Here his body rests until the coming of the Lord. Deeply interesting is this spot to a Christian. I could not but feel sad at the prospect of meeting Tio Soga's widow, who, with her younger children, was still living in the mission house.

70 - 71

At early dawn I went out to look at the grave of Tio Soga. His body rests in a corner of his own garden, railed in. There is no "God's acre" set apart as yet at Teduka. As I looked on it, I thought how blessed a life given to Christ! How glorious the present state of this Kaffir child of God! How blessed the eternal prospect of this first chosen apostle of his people! For ever with JESUS!

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Also available at these two libraries is Rev Robert Hunter's text History of the Missions of The Free Church of Scotland which mentions Soga very briefly:

A missionary deputation, including the Rev Messrs Govan and Tyo Soga, had an interview with Kreli, and obtained liberty from him to select a site for the mission, and in 1868 the Rev Richard Ross finally left Lovedale to settle permanently in the Transkeian region.

1873: 375

There are no longer Soga holdings at the British Museum, as there were when Williams performed his studies (Williams 1978: x). The textual holdings of the British Museum have been moved to the British Library, which has the 1878 edition of the Chalmers' biography, Cousins' 1897 biography, all Williams' works, and Saayman's little-known comparative study of Soga in his book Christian Mission in South Africa: economical and ecumenical (1990), which presents Soga as a Pietist, a person who achieves the uncomplicated stance that politics has no place in religion. Saayman looks instead to the importance to Soga of the ancillary functions of the missionary, focusing on Soga's interest in medicine, on Soga's training as a doctor at the Andersonian Institute immediately after his ordination, and on his work as a doctor, examining the patient whose leg is mangled, going to do vaccines which do not take. William Anderson, Soga's first-born son, became a medical missionary and Saayman makes the point that the knowledge of saving lives from

a physical perspective is as important as saving them from a spiritual perspective. Saayman questions whether Christians did not see that they could get closer to people at their bedsides and win their hearts. This text is also available in South Africa in the Library of the University of South Africa, Pretoria. The British Library also has a copy of Ndletyana (2008).

The British Library carries a speech given by Soga in Xhosa and translated by Soga into English for publication in the *Kaffrarian Watchman*, at the Newspapers holdings, on the Jubilee of the John Brownlee's ordination, which I shall discuss in Chapter Four: *Reading Soga (2) Tropes and Scopes*. See Appendix M for a transcription of this speech. The Newspaper holdings also have copies of *Isigidimi Sama-Xosa*, and I have located further articles concerning the spat with Appleyard, and further columns penned under the title 'Zivela Kubabalelani' which are signed by other names than 'TS'. I shall return to discuss this in depth in Chapter Four: *Reading Soga (2) Tropes and Scopes*. See Appendix N for a transcription of these articles.

<http://www.archive.org> is a website which carries many of the texts relevant to this study, for example Chalmers' biography in both editions (1877/78). These texts are not copyrighted and can be downloaded or read online. It has Smith's work on Appleyard, Memoir of the Rev. John Whittle Appleyard, Wesleyan Missionary in South Africa (1881), and Appleyard's The Kafir Language: Comprising A Sketch of its History; which includes A General Classification of South African Dialects, Ethnographical and geographical: Remarks upon its Nature: and A Grammar in 1850.

In Glasgow at the Mitchell Street Library there are *Glasgow Herald* back copies as well as all the minutes of the John Street Church. The University of Strathclyde holds the university records referred to above, as well as school records for the John Street Normal Church also referred to above. It has a copy of Robson's text. Robson mentions Soga in his text, stating,

The thought of [Tiyo Soga] recalls a charming personality, a warrior heart that knew no shame or fear, a pure and childlike spirit. His passionate loyalty to the Lord had its earthly counterpart in an unswerving devotion to the race from which he sprang, whose noblest qualities he embodied, whom he loved with an intense patriotism, and for whose sake he laid down his life.

Robson 1894: 58

It also holds *The Celebration of the Ministerial Jubilee of the Rev. William Anderson* in 1872 (2010: 335), a collection of speeches given on the fiftieth anniversary of the working life of the Rev William Anderson, who baptized Soga in Glasgow on May 14, 1848 (*MRUPC 1843*: Volume III: 118) and after whom Soga and his wife named their first son. In this speech written to be delivered

in another's voice, Soga mentions the global antislavery network. The letter from Soga to Rev William Anderson on this occasion has been found by T. Bradford, and is included in his text 'World Visions: 'Native Missionaries,' Mission Networks and Critiques of Colonialism in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Canada' (2010: 311 – 339).

At Dollar, both at the Academy and at the town museum, there are archives which detail the academic careers of Soga's children both whilst Soga was alive and after surviving members of his immediate family moved to Dollar permanently after his death. I have also been privy to Soga's personal effects, the watch given to Soga when he left Scotland, the family register and various photographs of Soga's progeny as well as documents to do with them such as driver's licences at Dollar, the property of Hector Soga. Copies of most are held at the Dollar Archive.

At the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh there is a letter addressed to Soga and Johnston from Somerville regarding the terms of their employment, the amount of their salaries and some details. See Appendix O for a copy of this letter. There is also a genealogy drawn up by the Rev. George McArthur, a minister and missionary who worked at Pirie Mission Station for twenty years between the 1950s and the 1970s and visited regularly after his retirement, conducted extensive research into Soga and his lineage and created an accurate genealogy for Soga's descendants in the United Kingdom and in South Africa, in consultation with Soga's great and great great grandchildren both in South Africa and in Britain, which he lodged at the National Library of Scotland. Rev. McArthur gave me permission to use the genealogy in my thesis and I consulted him on several occasions about Soga in relation to my studies. See Appendix P for a copy of the genealogy. He had put Soga's great and great great grandchildren in contact with one another, sometimes telling people for the first time about their African identity, and is responsible for the original family reunion which has now resulted in the Tiyo Soga Memorial at Mgwali. The Rev. Hector Soga, Soga's great grandson, confirmed the genealogy which McArthur had produced as he showed me the Soga Family Register, included here as Appendix E. McArthur published a biography of Janet Burnside Soga for the New Dictionary of South African Biography. I am not sure why she is called 'Janet Burnside Soga' instead of 'Janet Soga', the name by which she should have been known, following her marriage. It would have been most unusual for her to retain her married name and take a double-barrel name.

In addition, an almost complete set of the *MRUPC* is held, in which Soga appears intermittently between 1848 and 1872, when two biographies of him were published, first in a piece from 1848

entitled ‘Notices of Tiyo-Soga and his family’ which was written and published as Soga was about to quit Scotland for the Eastern Cape, a transcript of which is included as Appendix Q. In 1872 an obituary of Soga appeared, and in between, excerpts of his letters to the Foreign Committee of the United Presbyterian Church were edited and included in the *MRUPC* alongside those of missionaries to other parts of the world. The original documents were not kept. We therefore do not know what has been deleted. Soga’s first biography was written at the specific request of the UPC by Rev. Struthers (*MRUPC* Vol III No.XXXII August 1848: 118) who had run a school associated with W.Chalmers’ school in the Eastern Cape and who possibly already knew Soga, but the focus of the piece is on Festiri, Soga’s older brother who had converted before him and lived with his wife at the school, teaching there. The piece provides a picture of the domestic and family relationships around Soga, but tells us almost nothing about Soga himself. The piece also describes Soga’s mother Nosutu (119), and her relationship with Christianity and difficulties with being called a witch. Soga’s father is described as a railing patriarch, unreasonably hostile to his family members’ engagement with Christianity. Of a two page article, only the last two paragraphs carry information expressly about Tiyo Soga, and even they are filled with information about men in his milieu, not him. It is emblematic that the first text on Soga is also not about him at all, to the point that even the accompanying picture is a caricature, matching other etchings of black people at the time. A characteristic of Soga studies is that information deflects off him onto other people, or he is used as a cipher for someone else’s narrative. Information about Soga remains missing; although the sign signifies a particular signification, the signified is another person. This is an example of a textual manifestation of repression.

The lithograph of Soga is included at the beginning of the article. Here he is shown as he would be depicted in all the ensuing pictures of him: exceptionally smartly dressed and figured alongside a book. In this depiction, Soga would have been around twenty years of age;<sup>27</sup> however the lithograph is a stereotypical representation of a black person – it is deindividualised, not a likeness, but compares exactly with depictions of other black people as slaves. Yet in this etching, the background almost resembles a finger- or palm-print, as if standardising the picture with an

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<sup>27</sup> Williams, Donovan (1978: 1) gives Soga’s date of birth as 1829; Chalmers (1877/78: 5) notes that Soga informed him that he discovered the year of his own birth on reading The Wrongs of the Kafir Race, by Justus, who put the date of Maqoma’s internment at 1829, however I take his age by the age he gave when he was married, but it is still an estimate. He stated on his marriage in 1857 that he was twenty-six, meaning he was born in 1831. Hofmeyr also gives the year of his birth as 1831 without substantiation (2004: 117). The Register of Births and Deaths also shows Soga as being 16 years of age on his baptism in 1848 (CH3/806/12: 94, Appendix F).



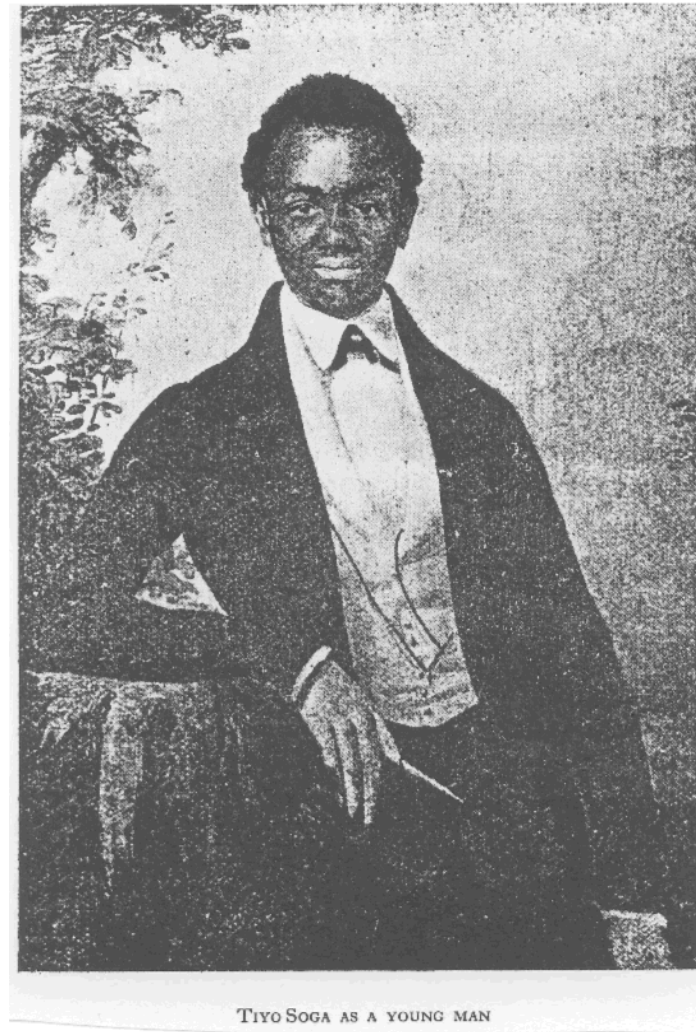
authenticity which is derived from a passport. The engraver's name is not given, although the author's name is given.



**Figure 4 - Lithograph of Tiyo Soga in 1848**

***MRUPC* Vol III No.XXXII August 1848: 118      National Library of Scotland**

This lithograph is clearly based on a photograph which Williams reproduced in Chapter Five of Umfundisi, which is included below, but for which no details as to photographer or the occasion exist. In the photograph Soga is leaning against a table with a pen in his hand. He is facing the photographer with a steady gaze and a small smile, a measure of happiness in his eyes. Yet without the corroborating information about the photograph, there is no proof that it was taken of Soga.



**Figure 5 – Tiyo Soga as a young man, reproduced in Williams 1978 no page number given.**

The picture with which we are more familiar is of Soga sitting on a chair, holding a book:



**Figure 6 - Photograph included in the front cover of Chalmers biographies (1877/78) Cousins' biography (1899) and Williams (1978).**

Soga is dressed in a suit with a cravat tied as a bow, his stiff white collar hinting at the ministerial collar. Soga stares straight out at the camera, assuming a proximity, whether spatial or ideological, with the viewer, whether the photographer then or readers in 2012. The stare is cool, and yet inclusive; Soga's posture is relaxed and yet the sharp angle of his right arm at the elbow together with his closed right fist carries a sense of latent energy, of militaristic precision, of professional methodologies. The original photograph and negative are not in any of the South African or British research libraries,<sup>28</sup> and the circumstances of the photograph and the date and place are not known. The photograph may have been taken in Cape Town in 1860 with Prince Alfred and Sandile; the occasion would have required a photographer and the ornate chair, and the personalised inscription,

<sup>28</sup> I searched at the Bodleian Library, the Royal Archives, Cambridge University Library, the British Library, SOAS archives, The National Library of Scotland, the Amathole Museum, the National Library of South Africa, Mitchell Library in Glasgow. I also asked about the photograph in my discussions with Carole Ghallager and Hector Soga, but they did not know of its details. The Amathole Museum has the picture of Janet Soga wearing her bonnet, used in Williams' works (1978 and 1983). But the date and place of inscription, remains unknown. The picture has generated critical analysis on its own, as Peter Johann notes in *Thixo befreie uns* (2010: 365).

stately gesture and treatment are very intriguing. The Royal Archives have letters written by the Prince's Governor, Major John Cowell (RAVIC/ADDA20/69 and RAVIC/ADDA/20/70) with two mentions of Soga presented from the visit of Prince Alfred to South Africa and numerous beautiful photographs of the environment, and Prince Alfred gave Soga a present of an English Bible, but this photograph is not in their collection. It is more likely that the photograph was taken on publication of The Pilgrim's Progress, because the text in Soga's hand is of the right size. The books of the Bible were published individually and not bound together until long after Soga's death. Someone kept a signed photograph of Soga; but no one knows who. At some stage the publishers of Chalmers' biographies must have reproduced the original photograph or had access to a negative, for the photograph was affixed as a plaque facing the title page of both editions. The only other possibility is that the picture was taken in Glasgow on his ordination, but Soga is an older man in this picture, since his face looks wizened. Soga was in his mid-twenties when he was ordained. Johann (2010) and Bradford (2010) have not found this information either.

We also have a picture of Soga taken with some missionary colleagues which Williams included in his biography (1978):



**Figure 7 - Tiyo Soga and Missionary Colleagues, from Williams (1978)**

Again, the circumstances of the taking of this picture are not known. Soga is identified in the picture but unfortunately we cannot see Soga's face clearly: he has turned to the left and is facing out of the picture, looking directly away from the camera. Although the date on the picture is '1896,' the picture was taken before August 1871. The group is mainly from the UPC: Chalmers is a UPC minister, as are Soga, Cumming, who succeeded Soga at Mgwali (Williams 1978: 69), and Selater, the same person who had written about Soga and his brother Festiri for the *MRUPC* as discussed above. Rev John Aitken Chalmers, on the bottom right, was the next biographer of Soga, after his death, followed by the Rev Henry T. Cousins, who based his work almost entirely on the work of Chalmers. Williams writes:

One hundred years ago, John Aitken Chalmers, son of the Scottish missionary William Chalmers, completed his biography of Tiyo Soga. It was published in London in 1877 under the title *Tiyo Soga: A Page of South African Mission Work*, and in Edinburgh in 1878. In 1897 a shortened version appeared under the title *Tiyo Soga: The Model Kafir Missionary* (London) and in 1899 this version was republished as *From Kafir Kraal to Pulpit: First Ordained Preacher of the Kafir Race* (London).

Williams 1978: xiii

Eastern-Cape born Chalmers did publish his biography entitled Tiyo Soga: A Page of South African Mission Work in 1877 and 1878, but both editions were published by Andrew Elliot, Hodder & Stoughton, David Bryce & Son, James Kay in Edinburgh, London, Glasgow and Grahamstown. The Rev. Dr. J. Logan Aikman, of Glasgow, oversaw the publication of both editions (Reverse of title page: 1877; 1878) as Chalmers remained in Kaffraria whilst the work was published abroad. Although Aikman states that the second edition 'has been subjected to a careful revision, and a full table of contents [...] added' (Chalmers 1878: Preface), the two editions are exactly the same, with each page set word for word on the same page number. Chalmers' text comprised firstly an introduction to the political and geographical milieu of Kaffraria and to Soga's life, followed by a rewriting of Soga's own journal, edited significantly, including excerpts of letters purportedly written by Soga to friends and colleagues in Scotland and in the Cape and those sent in return. Chalmers' biography is often seen as an invaluable text in the history of Soga. Williams particularly stated that it was an 'indispensable source' for his own edition of Soga's journal (1983: xii), and it is generally assumed that Soga and Chalmers were close friends. Yet as I shall argue more completely in Chapter Six: *Ventriloquism*, this text on which most ensuing literature on Soga is based, is flawed, and this constitutes a fault-line in Soga studies. De Kock (1994(b): 33 - 58, especially pages 42 - 47) has shown how Chalmers used Soga's diary to write a biography following the tradition of the 'narrative ascent' of an African from degraded to Christianised, combined with 'the narrative of conversion, in which Soga himself has a limited role' (42).

His is a terribly linear, earnest, and upward path of Protestant virtue and selfless service to Christianity. [...] These biographies are standard book-versions of missionary-colonial signifying imperatives, in which the African's 'rise' (or 'fall') was given a stereotypical narrative shape by European writers.

De Kock 1994(b): 42

He also shows how 'Soga is not turned into a character in Chalmers' romantically troped story about Christian knights among unredeemed barbarians in Kaffirland. He fulfils a formal, although limited, narrative role as a standard-bearer of Christianity in the midst of heathenism,' (De Kock 1994(b): 46). While this shows that Soga was not afforded the status of a fully rounded person within Chalmers' romantic discourse, it nonetheless shows that Soga is a figure, a character in a narrative, and highlights his vulnerability to being moulded and shaped at the whim of Chalmers, and invented to carry any idea Chalmers may have, almost as a mannequin. There is probably no truth in the depiction of Soga given by Chalmers in this text. Further, I argue that the text has turned from a biography of Soga to a biography of Chalmers because of Chalmers' excision and amplification of Soga's voice within the text, which Attwell (1995: 51; 1997: 571) describes as '[c]ommitting acts of betrayal by attributing words to Soga that he never uttered,' noting, '[s]ome of these interpolations are petty, but they all signify.'

The meaning of the word 'page' in the title may be synonymous with 'folio', making that synecdochic 'page' into a ream almost five hundred pages long, as Attwell notes (2005: 45) yet that total is presented as just one page of a much larger story which could be told about Soga. The use of the indefinite article in 'a page' also subsumes Soga within the broader text of mission work historically and globally as the history of the whole mission enterprise comes to represent a part thereof, rather than affording Soga the historical stature and specificity of being the third African man to be ordained as a minister, and educated in Britain. However a further meaning of 'page' refers variously to, 'a young boy, a youth, a male person of low status or uncouth manners, a male servant or a boy in training for knighthood, ranking next below a squire in the personal service of a knight and following the latter on foot,' (SOED 2002: 2068). Whilst attributing this meaning of the word 'page' in an interpretation of the title 'A Page of South African Mission Work' may seem an affront to Soga, and the concomitant demeaning tenor against Soga an affront to Chalmers, Chalmers does in fact describe Soga in this sense of the word within the body of his text:

As Tiyo had made great progress in his studies, Mr. Govan, with the consent of his brethren, resolved to take him to Scotland. It was not to lionize the Kafir boy and make him an object of curiosity; nor was it to exhibit him on platforms at annual congregational meetings, and make him repeat Kafir hymns, or sing them to audiences



tickled by the unmusical and barbarous clicks of the Isixosa; nor was it to make himself stared at, as he walked the streets of large cities followed by a black page.

1877/78: 38

Yet it is difficult to understand whose perspective Chalmers explores here, since this excerpt must refer specifically to the period of Soga's first stay in Glasgow between 1846 and 1848. Govan remained at Lovedale during Soga's second trip in the 1850s, having returned there after successfully campaigning to teach a uniform Eurocentric curriculum at Lovedale rather than a curriculum differentiated according to race (Williams 1978: 13). At that time Chalmers was also living in South Africa, a child of not yet ten years of age;<sup>29</sup> he certainly did not see the scene he described so poignantly. Although Chalmers is eight years younger than Soga (Williams 1978: xiv) Chalmers' text constantly infantilises Soga, revealing Chalmers' dedicated need to assert his superiority and authority over Soga.

Chalmers' text was abridged twenty years later by the Rev. H.T. Cousins and published in two editions, firstly as Tiyo Soga: The Model Kafir Missionary (London) and then as From Kafir Kraal to Pulpit: First Ordained Preacher of the Kafir Race (London). Both times the publishers were S.W. Partridge & Co. The first edition was printed as part of the London Missionary Society, The Watchers' Band, Circulating Missionary Library, but the second edition was published outside of this series, without these auspices. De Kock (1994(b): 42) notes: '[Chalmers' biography] appears to have been largely plagiarised in the Rev. H.T. Cousins's From Kafir Kraal to Pulpit: The Story of Tiyo Soga' (1899 London SW Partridge & Co).' This is to a large extent an accusation which can be borne out on examination. Cousins' two editions are identical and neither text offers new or original research or information. At times Chalmers' work is simply lifted word for word, and there is also some attempt at rewriting the text, with parts of paragraphs in Chalmers' text deleted to shorten the text by shrinking it internally, intrinsically. The text is two chapters shorter than Chalmers' biography. One is tempted to surmise that Cousins is attempting to capitalise wholeheartedly on the sub-genre, especially in reprinting exactly the same book with a new title, and it would be interesting to see to whom profits from the sale of the texts accrued. I have been unable to trace this information.

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<sup>29</sup> John Aitken Chalmers was 'about eight years of age' when Soga 'was sent to [John's] father's house' (M.A. Chalmers 1892: v). This was in 1843 (*MRUPC* Volume III: 120). However, John Aitken was under ten years of age when his father died of dysentery in the family home in 1847 (M.A. Chalmers 1892: vi).

A second etching of Soga is contained in the appeal for funds for Soga's family published after his death in the *MRUPC* (Feb. 1, 1872: 55). This lithograph is likewise unsigned. Soga's face is presented in profile, turned away from the reader, turned down and askance. He is touching an open book on a table beside him, as if he were leaning or balancing against them. Once again he is dressed in a dark suit and has the cravat tied at his collar. His suit is formal, and his stance formal too. His face is at exactly the same angle as in the picture of himself and Missionary colleagues. Perhaps that photograph was the basis of the etching.



**Figure 8 - Lithograph of Soga from the *MRUPC* Feb. 1, 1872: 55**

The *MRUPC* published an obituary for Soga in December 1 1871 (693 - 700) containing short biographical sketches written by friends and acquaintances, and spliced together by the *MRUPC*, the editors are not named.

There is some work which can generally be found in any major research library in South Africa and in the United Kingdom. Most research libraries have a copy of Soga's translation of at least the first half of John Bunyan's The Pilgrim's Progress – From this World to the World to Come from English into Xhosa, although only the first half was printed in Soga's lifetime, as Uhambo LomHambi Owesuka Kweli Lizwe, Waye Esinga kwelo Lizayo (1866). Donovan Williams' work is also in most research libraries. The most important literature on Soga is undoubtedly that of



Donovan Williams who became Soga's twentieth century and most sympathetic biographer and editor. His two texts Umfundisi – A Biography of Tiyo Soga 1829 – 1871 (1978) and The Journal and Selected Writings of The Reverend Tiyo Soga (1983) comprise, first, a biography which attempted a broader interpretation of Soga's life with verification of historical details posed by Chalmers, and, secondly, an edition of as many of Soga's texts as were extant during Williams' pioneering studies. Williams is to be commended for the thoroughness of his work, which includes Soga's handwritten Journal, letters in Soga's letterbook, letters published in the *MRUPC*, articles in *Indaba*, letters to the *King William's Town Gazette and Kaffrarian Banner*, and a transcription of the lecture given by Soga to the Young Men's Christian Association in 1866 whilst Soga was in Cape Town, where he had gone in 1865 to convalesce after a serious illness (Williams 1979: 133), and finally the hymns Soga wrote.

Williams has several other texts on the missionary network which have been invaluable in this study, namely 'African Nationalism in South Africa: Origins and Problems' (Williams 1970: 371 - 383) and 'The Indian Mutiny of 1857 and the Cape Colony: Part II: The Emergence of Black Consciousness in Caffraria' (1987: 56 - 67) in which Williams proves incontrovertibly that Xhosa people were race-conscious and expressed a racialised solidarity with both Crimean and Indian peoples during the Crimea War and the Indian Mutiny (1857). Williams' doctoral thesis '*The Missionaries on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony, 1799-1853*', lodged at the University of Witwatersrand from 1959, has never been published as a book. Williams edited and published Rev. John Bennie's An Account of a Journey into Transorangia and the Potchefstroom-Winburg Trekker Republic in 1843 (1957), and When races meet : the life and times of William Ritchie Thomson, Glasgow Society missionary, government agent and Dutch Reformed Church minister, 1794 - 1891 is immensely useful for understanding some of the constraints on Soga. Williams remains a vital participant in this debate, and more recently has published 'Prediction, Prose and Poetry: South Africa, 1947-1971, revisited' in van der Heyden and Feldtkeller (Eds) 2008 (443 - 456) which also concentrates on the way in which black consciousness was born during the mid-nineteenth century in Kaffraria.

There is some of Soga's work which has never been found. 'Soga's notebooks, in which he jotted down notes of his student life, are missing,' (Williams 1978: 23). Also missing is the 'official' journal, which would have been rewritten with the Journal which Williams edited as its basis, which 'was probably passed on to the home authorities of the United Presbyterian Church and may finally have come to rest in the Church of Scotland offices in Edinburgh, together with his home letters'

(Williams 1978: xviii). Unfortunately, however, none of these documents is there. I dispute the existence of this journal. All Soga's own references to his diary in his letters to the *MRUPC* or to the Foreign Committee of the UPC are to the handwritten Journal, bar one, which I shall argue in Chapter Four: *Reading Soga (2) Tropes and Scopes* had truly been written for the first time in the Letter book, to fit into that letter. The information contained in Soga's extant handwritten Journal, such as the 'humdrum aspects of life in Kaffraria,' (Williams 1983: 9), listing journeys made and people seen, those baptised and those who have died, seems out of place in a private diary. Soga has written in English in this handwritten Journal, not in Xhosa, which also to my mind renders it official, rather than private. The sentences are written as full, flowing descriptions, at times too detailed and complex even to be rough drafts. The entry for Feb 3<sup>rd</sup> 1861 (Williams 1983: 30 - 32, handwritten Journal: 42 - 45) is long, and according to Chalmers even longer in the private diary, which means it must have been copied from this one into the private one, and then added to and completed. This would make the handwritten Journal a draft journal rather than a private journal, as the letter book is a draft text. Also, Chalmers quotes at length from the second, missing, 'Official' journal to portray Soga's purported anxiety about his religious identity. It seems unlikely, however, that this information would be included in an official instead of a private journal. Letters from Soga to various friends in Scotland and church figures which Chalmers requested from friends and acquaintances to aid in his writing of his extended 1877 biography of Soga have been misplaced or destroyed, as have unspecified personal documents. The last person known to have been in possession of these notebooks is Cousins, who notes that he had access to these notebooks: 'the materials for this book have been collected partly at first hand, whilst the writer was a missionary in South Africa, and partly from a dear friend and brother, the late Rev. J.A. Chalmers, of Grahamstown, and others,' (1899: vi) and, '[Soga's] note-books, which contain pencil jottings of the prelections of his professors, also tell of the manner in which his leisure hours were employed,' (1899: 54). Another possibility is that they were also sent to Rev. Dr. J. Logan Aikman, of Glasgow, who oversaw the publication of Chalmers' *Tiyo Soga* in 1877 whilst Chalmers remained in South Africa (Chalmers 1877, no page number, first page of the text). Perhaps they are in the private holdings of John Henderson, Andrew Somerville and William Anderson, which I have not been able to find. Williams suggests that 'both journal and letters, together with the rest of the mission records, were destroyed during the Second World War' (1978: xviii). It is indeed possible that these historical documents were destroyed in the possession of Soga's son, John Henderson Soga, when he and members of his family were killed and the family home destroyed in an air raid

in Southampton in 1941 (Mqhayi 2009: 592).<sup>30</sup> Perhaps even more shockingly, these documents may have been discarded: Angela Ashbury has recounted the retrieval of Soga's diary in 1976 by her husband (private correspondence, Appendix R), and Opland recounts his retrieval of the manuscript and correspondence pertaining to A.C. Jordan's ImgQumbo yemiNyanya from boxes about to be thrown away at Lovedale Press in the same year (1990: 135 - 136) and notes that three full manuscripts of Mqhayi were lost (2009: 12; 16 - 18).

'*The Inheritance of My Children*' described as 'a small notebook' 'contain[ing] observations on Black history and society, as well as oral tradition which [Soga] culled from greybeards and at least one chief,' (Chalmers as cited by Williams 1983: 5) and from which Soga's comments on race-affiliation are drawn for Chalmers' biographies, remains at large. Soga never refers to this text: it is only through Chalmers' mention of it that it is important. It allegedly contained 'sixty-two short pithy maxims' for his sons as they departed for Scotland 'to peruse in secret' (Chalmers 1878: 42). 'To publish it to the world would rob it of its sacredness,' so only extracts of these are purportedly reproduced in Chalmers (1877/78: 430 - 435).

A record of the 'stories told by the chiefs and tribesmen' which Khabela mentions in his text has been lost (Khabela 1996: 114). Soga did not write the text Intlalo kaXosa. The text is commonly attributed to Soga but this is a mistake. Tiyo Burnside Soga, son of Zaze Soga and thus nephew of Soga, wrote the text. Intlalo kaXosa comprises a collection and selection of stories from Xhosa cultural heritage. The text of information about the chiefs and old stories is still missing. Tiyo Burnside Soga is also important as a South African writer, and an important descendent of Soga: he also translated Chalmers' biography into Xhosa. He was an ordained minister as well, and he published Intlalo kaXhosa. It is possible that he had access to Soga's notes in the 1920s when Intlalo kaXosa was published.

We should also have the *Minutes of the Board of Orthographers* and the *Committee for Revising the Bible*. The Board of Revisers/Translators was an interdenominational body, comprised predominantly of United Presbyterian Church, London Missionary Society and Wesleyan missionaries.

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<sup>30</sup> John Henderson Soga's grandson the Rev Hector Soga showed me heirlooms which came to his father via this route; for example he showed me the watch which Soga was given by the class at John Street Kirk when he returned to South Africa in 1857, as well as the family register kept by Soga and possibly Janet Burnside Soga and their daughter Jessie Margaret Soga, with whom Janet lived when she died. See Appendices E and S for photographs of both of these items.

This Board consisted of the following representatives: H.R. Woodruffe, J.W. Appleyard, Charles Brownlee, L.M.S., B. Ross, Tiyo Soga, U.P.C.S.M., A Kropf, and H. Meyer, Moravian M. After a time J.W. Appleyard and H. Woodruffe resigned. The Board met for the first time in April 1869, and, after deciding certain questions of orthography, proceeded to revise the new [sic] Testament. In 1870 this tentative edition of St. Matthew, revised by the Board, was printed at Mount Coke. The B.F.B.S. contributed towards the expense of preparing and publishing this and Nos. 3381 and 3382.

Coldham 1966: 739

These minutes would have been deeply revealing of power relations within the group as a record of speech acts enabling a sociolinguistic conversation analysis, and granting an understanding of the power relations in the process of translation, presenting the group and race dynamics for analysis. They might also provide valuable insights into the orthography proposed by Soga, to which there is one reference, in a letter from Sargeant to Rev. J.W. Appleyard sent from Healdtown July 20 1866 (BSA/E3/1/4/4: 256), commenting that a new orthography devised by those wishing to retranslate the Bible was not worth considering seriously:

The idea of an entirely new translation of the Kafir Scriptures, is in my estimation preposterous and unnecessary. And should it be printed, and published, it is doubtful whether it would be any improvement, or whether it would not be open to the same or even graver objections, especially should the proposed orthography be adopted, for that would render it positively useless beyond the voices of a few Mission Stations to which that very objectionable orthography is I believe confined. I decidedly think that the Scottish Bible Society will do well to pause, before it commits itself to any such work.

BSA/E3/1/4/4: 256.

Soga would undoubtedly have produced many folios of notes towards a proposed orthography for Xhosa, including drafts of letters, sounds, diphthongs and punctuation marks which would reflect Xhosa accurately. These would be a vital aspect of textuality for a scholar of Greek and Latin alphabets. This document could comprise a few to possibly several books, written over a decade or more. It may have been started as early as 1844 or 1846 depending on whether Soga began work on the translation of The Pilgrim's Progress whilst still a student in Mgwali. Uhambo Lomhambi was published in 1866<sup>31</sup> and the Board of Orthographers met in 1869. The notes towards this translation are also not extant. Hofmeyr explores Soga's probable knowledge of the text owing to Van der Kemp and other unnamed missionaries' possible usage of it as a sermonising text with the AmaNtinde, Soga's mother NoSuthu's people (2004: 118 - 119). Hofmeyr also details the extent of engagement with the text The Pilgrim's Progress which scholars at Lovedale undertook after 1883

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<sup>31</sup> Hofmeyr gives this date as 1868 (2004: 113), however the two forewords in the text are dated '28<sup>th</sup> November 1866'. She also notes that Soga had a diary entry from November 1866, stating that he had finished the translation (2004: 117). However no such entry exists in Soga's handwritten Journal.

(2004: 120).<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately no such detail exists for the years in which Soga was a student at Lovedale. The first African translation of the text, variously said to have been in 1837 and 1847, was by Moffat into Tswana. It is possible that Bunyan's work reached Soga through this route too, and perhaps that Rev William Chalmers or other GMS missionaries used it in their teaching.<sup>33</sup>

Soga may have kept a journal during his initial visit in Scotland, and another during his second visit to Scotland. He may also have kept a journal in South Africa between December 1848 and July 1851. The writing voice in Soga's handwritten Journal from 21 April 1857 is frank and unabashed, thoughtful. From the outset it is clear that Soga is a confident journal writer. Soga wastes no time in contemplating his relationship with the textuality of a diary, and has a mature relationship with it. Soga ought to have corresponded between the family members during his periods abroad. During Soga's second journey there are perhaps three sets of letters both ways, allowing four to six months per set. It is possible that this correspondence is addressed to or from 'Sani', not Tiyo Soga, as might be the case for missing correspondence between Soga and Stella Weims, the woman with whom Soga is said to have been in love and engaged to marry before Janet Burnside.

During the early days of his student life his affections had gone forth to a young girl of his own colour, named 'Stella,' who was on a visit to Scotland with her uncle, the Rev. Dr. Garnet, from America; but her life was quickly ended after leaving the Scottish shores. Had she lived to be united to him there was every prospect that she would have proved a most excellent wife.

Chalmers 1877/78: 93; Cousins 1897/99: 59

Schor explains, 'When Garnet left the United States, he took with him a teenaged fugitive slave girl, whom he named Stella Weims and who had fled from the District of Columbia. She became his adopted daughter and lived with his family during its sojourn in the British Isles' (1977: 111). Quarles explains that in 1852 Weims accompanied Garnet when he relocated to Jamaica as a United Presbyterian minister and that she died there, three years later, of 'bilious fever' (1969: 327 - 329). This relationship and its political implications are investigated in Chapter Three: *Transculturation In Deed*, but I believe there is three years' worth of correspondence between them, including

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<sup>32</sup> Chalmers records Soga's letter to Mr Bogue in which he states that he 'translated a large portion of it when student in Scotland; but, as then translated, the Kafir of it would have spoiled the work,' (Chalmers 1877: 341).

<sup>33</sup> Hofmeyr's assertion that the 'first official recognition for English literature as a discrete subject came in 1855 [when] the Civil Service of East India Company Report recommended that the competitive entrance examinations for the prestigious India Civil Service include a paper in English literature...' (2004: 108). The implications of this statement are simply astounding: to think that without the colonial mission service, the very study of English might never have been recognised as a worthy enterprise. This depiction of English as inscribed, not inscribing, is singularly interesting.

correspondence, most probably from Garnet, explaining her death to Soga, and possibly four to five years' worth of correspondence, if there were letters written during their courtship whilst they were both in Glasgow. The research pertaining to this thesis has not managed to locate this correspondence. This correspondence may be in Liberia, the country in which Garnet died in 1882. It may also be in America, in New York.

There should also be correspondence with Janet whilst she was away in Scotland with Allan Kirkland Soga in 1863 and 1864, when she realised that she was pregnant with Isabella MacFarlane and only returned to South Africa after Isabella's birth. Soga may have kept notes towards sermons detailing liturgical structure, or 'Diets of worship', as Williams refers to them (1983: 201, ff 41). Moffat has one, lodged at the School for African and Oriental Studies (CWM/LMS/20/02/06). These were standard fare for priests and missionaries, to be kept alongside a journal and sent back to the church periodically.

A.C. Jordan mentions Soga in Towards An African Literature The Emergence of Literary Form in Xhosa (1973). He included a section on Soga and his use of prose (54 - 57) which focuses on the pains at which Soga advocated cultural cooperation –questioning the behaviour of Christians in the traditional Xhosa setting (54). Hofmeyr states:

In his introduction, Soga suggests that people can be united not only by what they read but, crucially, how they read it. Not only might the content of the text assist believers and create new ones but common methods of interpreting the text could also weave people together. Soga could have had little idea of how successful this strategy was to be, since he died a few short years after the translation appeared. However, as the critic A.C. Jordan has noted, Soga's translation was to exercise an influence on written Xhosa literature comparable to that of the Authorized Version on English literary history [fn 8]. His translation, as well as its English original, was to form a powerful theme in the lives on the African elite in the Eastern Cape.

Lindi Nelani Jordan in her preface to Towards An African Literature describes Soga as

the prolific writer of the period under review and one of the best essayists in the Xhosa language, then and now. As I understand it, this is because Tiyo Soga's writings do not reflect the cries and anguish of the African people, but rather, are an exhortation to the people to join the new society, where Soga believed there was 'abundance of life' for all.

Jordan: x

Opland's studies of Xhosa literary history have been invaluable in informing my knowledge of the context of literary production around Soga as he grew up (1983, 1988, 1990 and 2004), as has Switzer's study (1993), which contains detailed references to the literacy of Soga's family and his

milieu, as well as information about Soga himself. However, De Kock is the theorist who has most studied Soga from a contemporary, literary and cultural perspective. Aside from Civilising Barbarians (1996(b)), the text based on De Kock's doctoral thesis at UNISA in 1993, De Kock has a wealth of papers concerning Soga and the missionary and colonial context, both published and unpublished, from the early nineties, which formed part of his thesis but were not published with the thesis. The academic theory in the papers from 1992 and 1993 is a riveting explication of the construction of identities in English and/or the role of English/language in identity construction, which he touches on in 'Chapter 6, Afterword' of his thesis (1996(b)), representing an important step in the continued discussions in postcolonial and Afrocentric theories around subjectivity formation, and to contemporary debates regarding the role and preservation of English studies. The work represents an important oeuvre, but with the exception of one paper (1993(b)) all of these articles are published in South African journals, Alternation, Journal for Southern Africa (1994(a)), English in Africa (1994(b)), Current Writing (1993(b)) English Academy Review (1993(a) and 1992(e)), Missionalia (1992(d)), South African Historical Journal (1992(c)), JLS/TLW (1992(a)). The information is localised and not freely available to the world. In the first papers in 1992 (a) – (e), De Kock sets out the supposition that archival material is suitable for textual analysis, and in 1994, he uses Soga as a means to prove his theory. *'English and the Colonisation of Form* (1992(a)) seeks to describe the wider context in which black subjects of missionary teaching were compelled to negotiate identity in terms of a civilising colonialism founded in English as a master-discourse' (33). *'The Literary and the Historical: Missionary Discourse at Lovedale in the Nineteenth Century and the Contestation of Subjectivity'* (1992(b)) contains some cross-over with Civilising Barbarians but Civilising Barbarians goes on to talk more about Moffat and Livingstone than Lovedale: the specificity of Lovedale is enormously important. These debates retain their critical importance contemporarily both in the South African and in the global context; no other critic has the same critical clarity for development of ideas as does De Kock. This paper is different to the one given at the conference, both papers are equally interesting.

*"'Drinking at the English Fountains": Missionary Discourse and the Case of Lovedale,'* (1992(d)), places the question of the formation of subjectivity as central. *"'History', 'Literature', and 'English': Reading the Lovedale Missionary Record within South Africa's Colonial History'* (1992(e)). The paper highlights the relevance and pertinence of the archives to literary study and review particularly to representational theory. De Kock argues that he

wanted to argue that 'English' – particularly in its liberal guise – was instrumental in the making of a coercive and divisive colonial order in South Africa [...] a powerful

essentialising or generalising tendency was evident in virtually every piece of missionary literature, and it was precisely this essentialisation of external phenomena within the structures of language – English in particular – which constituted a colonial ‘discursive regime’.

1992(e): 4

In this paper, De Kock also introduced his theory concerning the importance of agonism based on the work of the Comaroffs in the South African context, which may be very useful to some scholars, and which is drawn upon in Civilising Barbarians. I have not however used their work, and this for two reasons, namely that their work is for the Swiss missions with very different colonial approaches to those of the Scottish Presbyterians, and secondly that Soga is a leader, the most senior United Presbyterian Church missionary in sub-Saharan Africa, whereas the agonists described by the Comaroffs held no such authority. Soga was no mere itinerant, no mission elder: he was responsible for Mgwali and Tutura Mission Stations. I shall return to this point during this thesis.

*‘The Central South African Story, or Many Stories? A Response to ‘Red People and School People from Ntsikana to Mandela’*’ (1993(a)) presents a strong argument. In *‘Postcolonial Analysis and the Question of Critical Disablement’* (1993(b)), De Kock presents a continuation of his thesis on the politics of subjectivity construction, which seems to dispute his earlier findings that identities are bound by grammatical practices, but is nonetheless very interesting South African postcolonial theory. *‘Textual Capture in the Civilising Mission: Moffat, Livingstone, and the Case of Tiyo Soga’* (1994(b)) achieves the ends which the theories which De Kock had developed since 1992 to legitimate archival or historical texts as texts for critical analysis. This is De Kock’s first work directly focusing on Tiyo Soga, which predates Attwell’s 1995 chapter, and it is absolutely invaluable. This particular material is not repeated in Civilising Barbarians, but it contains some cross-over with Civilising Barbarians. The paper is the first, and to my knowledge only, academic study of Chalmers’ rendition of Soga, including a brief analysis of Chalmers’ use of rhetorical tropes. *‘Reading History as Cultural Text; Implications of Postcolonial Critique for Historical Revision and the Case of Tiyo Soga’* (1995). Much of this text is specifically repeated in Civilising Barbarians. Although this text was published in 1995, it was written for a conference in 1994, and shares many of the concerns of the previous paper; these are rendered more clearly in this second text. Mastin Prinsloo critiques this text saying that it does not seem as if De Kock has actually read the texts which he claims to have read, and lacerates De Kock’s scholarship. And retrospectively, in *‘The Pursuit of Smaller Stories: Reconsidering the Limits of Literary History in South Africa,’* (1996(b)), De Kock presents a brief, interesting introduction to the questions he answered so deeply



in 1992.

Also in 1996 Khabela published Tiyo Soga The Struggle of the Gods – A Study in Christianity and The African Culture in which he discusses Soga in some detail. Khabela has read Rev. Soga's hymns<sup>34</sup> as poetry in the final chapter of his book, relating the metaphorical tropes in Soga's hymns to those which Soga used in liturgical discourse. Khabela discusses the 'two basic concerns that run through Tiyo Soga's hymns' "the light" and "the promise," (130). Shepherd mentioned Soga in Bantu Literature and Life (1955: 38 - 41), as did Millard in 1999 in Malihambe - Let the Word Spread, Unisa Press, Pretoria, South Africa. In 2000, Malinge McLaren Njeza completed his doctoral thesis "'Subversive Subservience': A Comparative Study of the Responses of Tiyo Soga and Mpambani Mzimba to the Scottish Missionary Enterprise" at the University of Cape Town, its title drawn from the third chapter of Leon De Kock's Civilising Barbarians (1996).

In 2005 David Attwell dedicated a chapter in his text Rewriting Modernity: Studies in black South African literary history to Soga, a confirmation of his previous papers on Soga, the first published in 1995, 'The Transculturation of Enlightenment – The Exemplary Case of the Rev Tiyo Soga, African Nationalist' in The Making of an Indigenous Clergy in Southern Africa: proceedings of the International Conference held at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 25 - 27 October 1994 (41 - 57). Yet he does not present Soga as an exemplary case, in that Soga is not compared with any other examples at all. The article includes a brief introduction to Soga's life, using only white and English sources except for V.S. Mudimbe, sourced once (50), and an oblique reference to Homi Bhabha (45) and Partha Chatterjee (56) to advance and substantiate his work. Although Attwell laments Chalmers' alterations of Soga's text, Attwell still trusts Chalmers as a source uncritically (page 56, for example). In 1997, Attwell republished the same paper, now entitled, "Intimate Enmity in the Journal of Tiyo Soga" in Critical Inquiry, (1997: 557 – 577) again using Soga's diary in order to exemplify Derrida. Attwell borrows the term 'transculturation' from Mary Louise Pratt (1992: 6). Attwell conflates Soga's identity with that of Nkupiso, who was shot and killed in a frontier war seven years after Soga's death with a copy of the Pilgrim's Progress in his pocket (Attwell 1995: 41 – 42; 1997: 557 – 558; 2005: 27 - 29).

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<sup>34</sup> Williams (1983: 195) explains that the hymns quoted in The Journal are drawn from Incwadi Yamaculo: okuvunywa, yinxalenye YEZIKOLO ZIKAHRESTU; ezisemaxoseni. Ishicelelewe ngesishicelelo sabafundisi E-LOVEDALE; kutengiswa ngayo e-Dikeni apa, nakwezinya iziloka published in 1864.

Masilela hailed Soga as ‘the intellectual provider of the Xhosa Intellectuals of the 1880s’ (2007: xiii). In 2010 and 2011 Bradford’s historical work on Soga resulted in his retrieval of a letter written by Soga, and has located Soga within an international globalised context, linking him to a world-wide web of relationships through the United Presbyterian Church network of Foreign Missions. This is invaluable redemptive research. In 2011 Bickford Smith published his article ‘*African Nationalist or British Loyalist? The Complicated Case of Tiyo Soga*’. This article is a historical literary analysis, discussing Soga’s political identity.

There are many research libraries which may hold these works either by or on Soga beyond South Africa, Scotland, England, and, by my counting, potentially in other places too: Liberia, America or Jamaica and possibly all three, depending on what happened to Stella Weims’ effects after her death, which I have been unable to ascertain. Also, the archives for Stirling, Greenock and Dumferline in Scotland holding the archives for the Christian women’s associations may also contain information about Soga, or letters in his hand. These people were organised, supporting Notasi. Personal diaries may contain impressions of Soga or information on speeches he gave, or other noteworthy observations on him. In the next chapter I shall go on to consider Soga as read by the critical field, specifically as read by Williams. In addition, I shall address the question of identity, focusing on the ways in which Soga’s identity manifests itself in words, and what such knowledge implies and signifies.

## Chapter Two: Reading Soga (1)

This chapter presents an investigation into ‘the way in which Tiyo Soga wrote and arranged his journal, his spelling and so on,’ (Williams 1983: 9, emphasis in original). Williams’ fascinating analysis that Soga’s work reveals him as ‘a man of two worlds,’ (1983: 2), ‘a personality poised between cultures,’ (1983: 2), referring to the two cultures with which Soga had chiefly to do, Xhosa and Scottish Presbyterian, is based on his assessment of Soga’s writing; not the content and knowledge but the spelling, grammar and organisation of Soga’s work. Williams asserts:

For example, the switch from ‘craal’ to ‘Kraal’ on 21 September 1859, may be of more than passing interest to some. Equally the general appearance of the journal itself, involving misspelling (e.g. to day – today; wondering-wandering; fair-faire; Gensis; Genesis; passed-past, etc) irregular punctuation or lack of it, and ill-organized arrangement, pose[s] a number of problems.

1983: 9

Soga’s handwriting has rendered him legible. Williams describes Soga’s handwriting throughout the Journal as

...vary[ing] considerably, to a point where sometimes it seems that a different person is wielding the pen [...] one is almost tempted to indulge in speculation surrounding graphology, and to ponder on the intricacies of his mind as it wrestled in the deep waters of conflicting cultures.

1983: 10

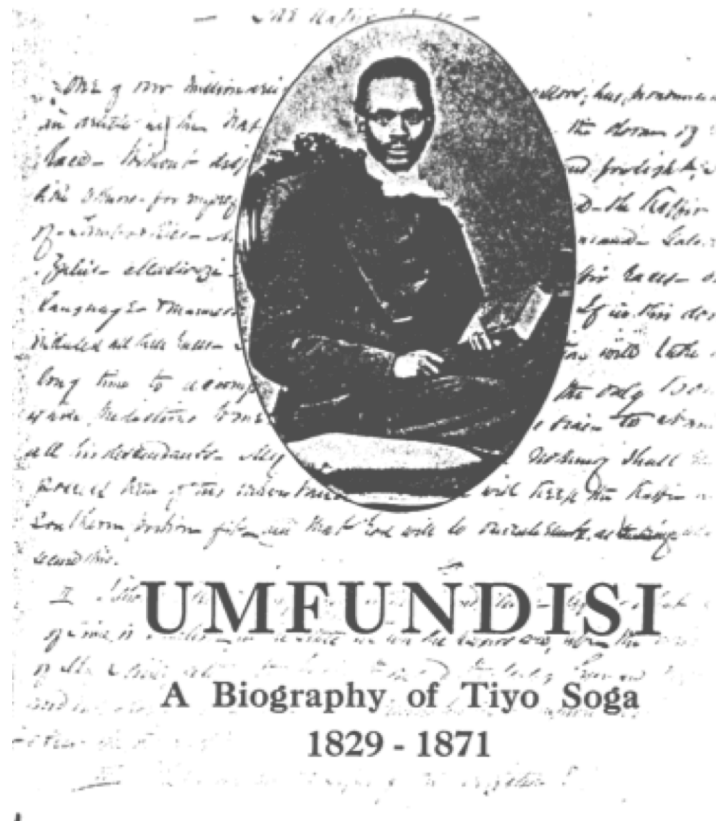
Those problems had ‘contributed to the woes of an editor anxious to make available not merely Tiyo Soga’s data in some kind of presentable form, but also to reveal his character,’ (Williams 1983: 10). Williams’ analysis of Soga’s writing has authorised his statements of Soga’s politics: Williams insists that Soga’s work should be analysed for its pronouncements on Black Consciousness (1983: 9). Williams explicitly links Soga with the black theorists James Africanus Horton, Edward Wilmot Blyden and Alexander Crummell (1978: xix and 1983: 1), who are coincidentally described by Gilroy as, ‘Modern black thinkers [...] in an expanded West but not of it,’ who faced a ‘striking doubleness,’ whose lives, ‘spanned the Atlantic,’ and the ‘impact of [whose] travels helped to map the spatial dimensions of the black Atlantic world,’ (1993: 58). Williams argues further that Soga’s work reveals his proto Pan-Negroism through his Black Consciousness (1978: xix and 128; see also Williams 1983: 178).<sup>35</sup> The extent to which these statements have been accepted as realistic and even true is measured in the continuing discussions about Soga’s ideologies (see Bickford-Smith 2011; Bradford 2010). Nevertheless, subsequent

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<sup>35</sup> ‘Williams [1978: 128] still concluded that Soga was the ‘Father of Black Nationalism in South Africa,’ (Bickford-Smith 2011: 82).

‘lexicographers, linguists and those interested in the evolution of languages,’ to whom Williams thinks this information will be useful (Williams 1983: 9), have not undertaken the study of Soga’s actual handwriting, spelling, punctuation and organisation, and these postulations have never been explored and substantiated. This thesis attempts this work, and maintains Williams’ assessment of Soga as a proponent of Black Consciousness, and a proto Pan-Negroist. Discovering Soga’s character in his spelling, punctuation and organisation was most enticing and would fill an important gap in understanding South African identity, to find the voices posited in post-colonial and black consciousness theory. I examine orthographic issues first, focusing on words, handwriting and spelling, before moving to the organisation of the handwritten Journal. I shall proceed to investigate Soga’s use of punctuation, and finally discuss whether Soga can be seen as a proponent of Black Consciousness philosophy. At all times I was mindful of Winters’ injunction to engage with ‘“the integrity of words’ (Achebe 1957, p. 34), [...] what is actually there on the printed page, not with what we imagine to be there or with what we idealistically think should be there,’ (Winters 1982: 114).

A close study of Soga’s handwriting reveals that it does vary throughout the Journal as Williams states (1983: 9), but not to the point of inconsistency per entry. Soga has a number of styles of handwriting, but with one exception they are consistent, repeating at intervals the tiny round script or the elongated script, or the hurried scrawl, and each one is clearly Soga’s writing. The dust jacket of Williams’ 1978 biography of Soga, Umfundisi, shows the famous picture of Soga seated with a large book on his lap, eyes keenly staring out at the photographer/reader, against the handwritten draft of Soga’s response to Chalmers’ letter, ‘*What is the Destiny of the Kaffir Race?*’ At the very moment in which one may expect Soga to be the most bedevilled by ‘conflicted’ identity, and indeed by a range of emotions from anger to despair, his handwriting flows beautifully, each line is perfectly straight, the letters are smooth and even, denoting an educated and considered individual.



**Figure 9: Dust jacket of Umfundisi: A Biography of Tiyo Soga 1829 – 1871 (Williams 1978).**

The even pace and uncluttered candour of this entry is the most common handwriting in the handwritten Journal. Soga does not tend to make entries in which his writing starts evenly and becomes erratic, although taken as a page of entries, the pages can look very messy as for pages 24 and 32, below:



Last Sabbath we were the 1<sup>st</sup> of April. The evening was held with this family we bap-  
 tized my boy John Henderson with this infant Thomas of Peck - the 1<sup>st</sup> family  
 came on the previous Sabbath I left us on the Wednesday the 15<sup>th</sup>

Lord's day. May 13<sup>th</sup> A fine Sabbath - very good attendance - The bass of the  
 small box being reached now the Rabbin began again to come out. Preached from  
 Rom. 12. 12 - my John 19. 31. His mother - Baptized 4 more - 4 more  
 infants. The former child. The latter 3 died. Forthwith young set child but  
 one died rather suddenly this morning - was present when she died - she  
 will be about <sup>10</sup> years old now

Lord's day. Sunday 14<sup>th</sup> - very fine attendance - church crowded - Baptized  
 in the English service for Borne's Impact class - One Preached from "I  
 know no balance in heaven & no physician there"

Lord's day Sunday 15<sup>th</sup> - 1<sup>st</sup> of the Pentecost - the minister  
 in the forenoon Rabbi Lurie. administered the Sacrament. Baptized 6  
 the child of Nick & of Lurie - The church was very much  
 crowded today. Preached that watched by Rabbi - but it is  
 not yet met. Holy James 1<sup>st</sup>.

June 12<sup>th</sup>. We went to the Polo early this day - to hear F. Thompson's  
 school - This was done under delightful fully favorable  
 circumstances - The pastor who we visited especially  
 second was present - the parents of these children

Figure 11 Page 32, handwritten Journal with five separate entries.

Soga's four letters lodged at Cory Libraries give a depiction of Soga's work at ten year intervals. I have taken a page from the first three for the purposes of comparison here; they are reproduced in full in the Appendices (H(i) - (iv)) for further examination. Here is Soga's writing as a young man, in 1848:

Tuesday  
 South Street, Northampton  
 My Dear Sir  
 The man whom you  
 sent arrived here this morn-  
 ing stating that you  
 had sent him to James  
 He had any letters from  
 your children in Scotland  
 Two days after I  
 arrived here I went to  
 Scotland with two let-  
 ters one from Bryce to  
 his Mother another from  
 Mrs Roper to Father which  
 he wrote before his  
 death. I was sorry to hear  
 that they had not a-  
 rrived to you because  
 it snowed when a post-  
 night since I was in  
 London with these  
 letters in my bag  
 home

Figure 12: MS 3471, Soga's letter to John Ross of the 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1849.

Soga's writing is clear and confident, with a flourishing style, and a right-leaning slant on the page. It is entirely legible, even in reproduction after a period of one hundred and fifty years. Soga is not as controlled and neat as he is in the next letter lodged at the Cory library, written almost exactly a decade later, on the 11<sup>th</sup> March 1859:



MS (No. 10,663)  
A. U.

Imperial - Mar 11 - 1859

My dear Ross -

I herewith forward to you three  
documents, relating to our Happi Hys - The  
first contains ten Hys, by way of original  
Contributions - Take your pruning knife to  
them - & get them neatly with the offspring  
of my hand!! - These Hys. have included  
under the subjects to which they belong - in the  
second document - subtitled - "Selection of Hys"  
In this document I have selected  
all selectable Hys. in the British Anthro-  
pometic Collection - in the F. L. S. & in the  
M. L. or Melanese Collection - & in the  
third document - contains proposed Readings -  
corrections & improvements - of Hys. selected - in

Figure 13: MS 10663, Soga's letter to Bryce Ross of the 11<sup>th</sup> March 1859.

This letter clearly shows Soga's years of further education, and lively tone. The paragraphs are evenly distributed and the lines remain straight, only picking up the right-leaning slant towards the end of the page. The letters are evenly spaced and controlled. There are no ink splotches or scribbles, all words are written neatly and spelt correctly. Eleven years later, Soga's writing has retained this neatness and clarity:

9206

Somerville, N. H., 20th January 1870

My dear Ross.

Though I had had time, I could not have  
gone on principle to this dinner of Mr. Loomis, to be given on the  
terms of Mr. Bonnier's letter to you.

It seems to me that they are doing all they can  
to diminish the lustre of Mr. Loomis' name in connection with  
that Seminary. By what right they stake it upon themselves  
to misapply such a Sacred Trust, of <sup>as that</sup> a scholarship in  
honour of a great & good man, I do not know, & we have a  
right to know. I consented to the admission of  
that party in order to get enough money for a large  
scholarship, & now they propose to fritter the money away.  
Mr. Loomis is he in need of a living or a fourth of a living  
small at the best? The largest scholarship in that  
Institution, should be the one connected with the dinner  
gift. So far as I am concerned, I wash myself of all  
these Stewart-Bonnier-Wright arrangements.

We leave this next Sunday with the City boys, whom  
we shall bring home next October.

We thank God with you, on behalf of your  
new born daughter, & on behalf of those Robt. May

Figure 14 MS 9206, Soga's letter to Bryce Ross of the 20 January 1870.


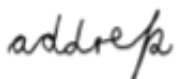


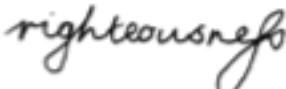
Although Soga's chirography, or his style of handwriting, is called untidy, it is nonetheless legible, especially after one has been working with it and becomes familiar with the patterns which Soga uses. The handwriting of some of Soga's contemporary missionaries, notably the Wesleyan Methodist Rev Richards, is far more spidery (MMS/Correspondence/South

Africa/Grahamstown/FBN 1864-67: slide 5). These letters are obviously intended for a reader, and thus they are clearly written with legibility in mind, which a diarist might not heed. Williams was transcribing Soga's handwritten Journal in his transcription work, and he clarifies that, 'among the problems encountered [with Soga's handwriting] was [his] random use of capitals':

Particularly troublesome were the letters 'S' and 'C'. The former appears in all shapes and sizes, without regard to meaning; the latter usually appears as a halfway house between the small and capital letter, without any distinguishing characteristics. In addition decisions had to be made about more than one word written as one, single words divided, abbreviations, and the use of the dash instead of commas and full stops. [...] Tiyo Soga's capital 'K' (except where it appears in the middle or end of a word) and, where appropriate, his universal 'E', have been retained. Elsewhere liberties have been taken with the use of capitals – especially with the ubiquitous letter 'S'. [...] Unusual abbreviations have been clarified, e.g. 'be[cause]'.

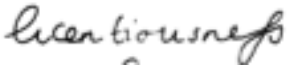
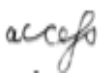


Williams 1983: 10

On close examination of the handwritten Journal lodged at Fort Hare (F001256308), I found that on the contrary, Soga's handling of the 's' is even and consistent, if at times oddly sized, and it is possible that the reason for the slight unevenness is related to the equivocation which Soga's contemporaries in Britain as well as France were having at the time with the letter. Rev. W. Davies also has this inconsistent use of the 's', and in correspondence on June 22<sup>nd</sup> 1835, he writes the letter in three different ways across five spellings:<sup>36</sup>

		
(assortment)	(address),	(possible)
		
(blessing),	(righteousness).	

BSA/FC/1835: 134



And in Rev D. Philip's letter of 7 December 1847 to Rev Hankey (CWML/LMS. Africa Box 9), we find that 'js' is written to say 's', and not 'sh,' as for 'missionaries':

		
(licentiousness)	(access)	(assisted), and
		
(impassable).		

Col Stretch also has the same orthography for 'assist' and for 'assembled' in a Memorandum (CWM/LMS Africa: Box 13 Folder 6). We can compare Soga's letters to those of the Rev G.

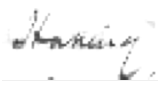
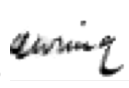
<sup>36</sup> These are my transcriptions of the handwriting in the letters.

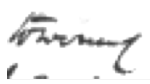
Schreiner,<sup>37</sup> who, in a letter dated May 8 1840, uses a large ‘s’ for a sound resembling ‘z’:



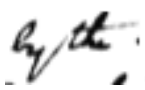
 (observe) and  (desirous).

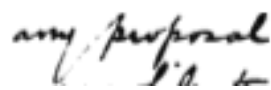
BSA/FC/1840/3: 135


Soga uses returned y’s and g’s, which Williams did not note but which is interesting. On the 10<sup>th</sup>

May 1857, Soga uses  (Having) and also  (during), and on the 14<sup>th</sup> May 1857

 (towering), (F001256308) but again these are consistent with the orthographies of the John Street Kirk Session Minutes for the 28<sup>th</sup> November 1871 (CH3/806/2), where the ‘y’ is turned

back on itself in ‘Tiyo’:  (page 765)  (page 766)  (767) and also joined to the first letter or the next word agglutinatively, with the tail of the ‘y’ pointing backwards:

 See Appendix T for a sample taken from the entry for the Session Minutes for the 28<sup>th</sup> November 1871 of the John Street Kirk members.

Soga uses contractions throughout his writing. Soga routinely writes ‘Xt’ or ‘Xty’ for ‘Christ’ and ‘Christianity’, but ‘Xt’ may also say ‘crossed’ in the sense of being double crossed, tricked or duped. On Tuesday June 2d 1857 he puns on ‘DV,’ *Deo Volonte*, meaning ‘God willing’, and ‘God blowing,’ revealing a sophisticated wit: Soga’s ship is dependent on wind to drive the ship home. Of further interest are the little x’s which appear at the beginning and end of entries and in the top and bottom margins; perhaps because of refilling a cartridge or nib, and checking the even flow of the pen. These floating x’s could infer a boundedness, a bondedness. Soga also includes some isolations of words which should have been written as one but have been written as two; for example, on May 4<sup>th</sup> 1857 ‘today’ is written as ‘to day’ twice, and on the 12<sup>th</sup> May 1857 Soga has written ‘ahead’ as ‘a head’, on the August 9<sup>th</sup> 1859 he writes ‘a sleep’ rather than ‘asleep’, in ‘peacefully fell a sleep in Jesus.’ However, these isolations are few and far between. More frequently, Soga agglutinates words which are contemporarily split apart in English. For example, on April 21<sup>st</sup> 1857, he has ‘toDeal’,  where ‘to’ functions as a preposition denoting a

<sup>37</sup> The Rev. Gottlieb Schreiner was a missionary for the London Missionary Society, and father to Olive.

movement towards Deal. He has 'afavoring' <sup>afavoring</sup> for 'a favoring', and 'Awant' instead of 'A want'. Others include 'ofthe', <sup>of the</sup> 'tome' for 'to me,' 'ofnote' for 'of note,' 'ofGod' for 'of God,' '&will' for '& will,' '&with' for '& with'. Some of these appear to replicate a Xhosa agglutinative structure, where 'prayfor' is translated as 'thandazela', 'tome' as 'kum', 'along' as 'ende' (with the relative pronoun rather than an indefinite article), 'thename' as 'igama' and '&peacefully' as 'noluxolo'. There is even an example of four words written as two, 'Iwas awitness' which would be translated as 'Ndibe yingqina'.

While it is tempting to think of this as an example of an Africanisation of English and as such as an evolution in language, or even as Soga's exercise of his direct ownership of English, with his execution of choice presenting evidence of Soga's control and mastery of English rather than obeisance, in fact, these agglutinations are again entirely consistent with the joining of words in the

John Street Kirk Minutes, where we see 'to leave' <sup>to leave</sup> (766) 'the brethren' <sup>the brethren</sup> (766) 'met with' <sup>met with</sup> (767) 'met with' and <sup>of letters</sup> (767) 'of letters'. Please see Appendix T for an extended extract of these minutes. In a letter from Rev. W. Davies to Rev. T Doyer there are several joined words; Davies asks whether Doyer would

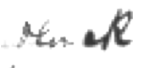
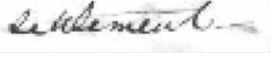
be kind enough to request Mr. Fain to send us another Box of Bibles & Testaments allEnglish (afew marge, references). The Value of the last Box was about £19. - We expect shortly toreceive moremoney onaccountof Bibles & Tests sold which willbe remitted another time.

BSA/FC/1834/3: 53

Agglutination is consistent for writers irrespective of education or race, or native country; it appears to be a habit of letracy of the era. Wilhelm von Humboldt only coined the term 'agglutination' in relation to language studies in 1836<sup>38</sup> and therefore this debate was full of potential at the time that Soga was working. This study opens up discussions of the development of language. These habits form part of the global history of written English and language development. Discussions of agglutination must be as old as Latin, and the history of typeface since the Guttenberg Press, but the practice of writing them in the nineteenth century needs more critical attention.

The entry for 13<sup>th</sup> May 1857 shows Soga writing 'peaK,' and 'blacK'. <sup>Peak</sup>, 'peak', and

<sup>38</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agglutinative\\_language](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agglutinative_language)

, 'black' (Handwritten Journal page 7). Here 'blacK' might read, 'bleak'. I believe that this is similar to Soga's elongated tittle of the final 't' in 'settlement' in the same entry, which joins all the t's together as almost an overline flourish:  'settlement'. This flourishing overlining becomes a feature of Soga's d's after Feb 3<sup>rd</sup> 1861, when the English Prince Alfred had visited Soga at Mgwali (Williams 1983: 30 - 32), on the request of Sandile, Soga had accompanied Prince Alfred on board the ship of which he was a member of the crew to Cape Town via Durban. It was an unusually high homage for Soga to have been paid such a personalised visit. From this entry forward, Soga uses very curly d's, which at times resemble an '@' symbol, or the enveloping 'C' used to denote 'Century' in handwritten abbreviation, and his words become enveloped in the tail of the 'd'. This continues consistently as an intermittent flourish throughout the rest of the handwritten Journal and seems to denote Soga's increased pride and dignity as a result of this visit and homage paid to him. Soga praised Queen Victoria on several occasions and described himself as a subject of the British monarch, but this is a familiar social pattern for Soga; Xhosa society was also highly stratified with a royal hierarchy and strict codes of conduct for all.

The Rev. W. Davies, with a beautiful handwriting, using a strong nib and flowing ink, uses a minuscule 'a' to start a sentence in a letter to Rev. T. Doyer dated April 21 1834 (BSA/FC/1834/3: 53). Philips also uses arbitrary capitalisation. In his letter of 7 December 1847 to Rev Hankey mentioned above (CWML/LMS.Africa.Box 9) Philips also uses a majuscule 'E' in the middle of the sentence, and a minuscule 'c' for 'Christian', writing, '[...] but Especially that of Mrs Philip, of whose christian faith many were witnesses'. He has,

Considering the ravages of war, you will not be greatly surprised to be informed that in the way of Suscriptions [sic] to the Society, and public work, nothing has been done. The current expenses for Wine and Candles have been borne by the Fingoes or Basotos.

D. Philip's letter of 7 December 1847 to Rev Hankey (CWML/LMS: Africa Box 9)

John F Cumming, in a letter to Stretch of 13 October 1844, also has inconsistent capitalisation of his c's; with false full stops. He writes,

The Cause of Caffre christianization. as well. as. of . Civilization. is dear to Me, and most desirous would like to do any thing that would promote either the one point or the other, as both have human happiness for their object.

CWML/LMS: Africa Box 9

Even in typeface, mistakes occur. In a letter dated January 29th 1843 and titled '*Regulations for the*

*Griqua and Bechuana District Committee of the London Missionary Society,*’ Section I contains ‘retricted’ for ‘restricted’, Sections II, III and IV have ‘it’s’ for ‘its’, and Section V has ‘preferred’ for ‘proffered’. This document has been signed ‘Arthur Tidman, Foreign Secretary,’ (CWML/LMS.Africa.Box 9). Unlike Soga’s handwritten Journal, these letters and reports were specifically intended to be read by an audience and yet these authors are not self-conscious about their so-called mistakes. Interestingly, Williams found exactly the same kind of pattern in Rev. John Bennie’s (1843) handwritten Journal of his visit to Transorania, noting Bennie’s,

indiscriminate use of the capital ‘S’ and his practice of linking words together. On occasion his spelling is faulty and the punctuation and sentence structure rather peculiar.

Bennie 1956 (1843): vii

Bennie’s journal described his journey into the interior at a time when he was deeply conflicted about two cultures, and his religious affiliation. He went on to change his denomination from the London Missionary Society and begin working for the Dutch Reformed Church, implying a move away from English/Scottish governance as well as Presbyterianism.<sup>39</sup> Yet Williams did not attribute Bennie’s mistakes to questions of cultural accommodation or of straddling two cultures, noting instead:

It should, however, be remembered that this manuscript was probably the draft of a report delivered to fellow missionaries.

Bennie 1956 (1843): vii

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<sup>39</sup> Missionary societies were not uniform in their approach to African converts or their relationships with colonial governing structures. Missionaries are often referred to as a collective noun; however denominational differences reflected political differences, sometimes race-based political differences, as in the case of the United Presbyterian Church. Switzer (1993: 70; 124 - 125) notes especially that the UPC was the most forward-thinking of all the missions and explains Soga’s special position within that body: ‘The theological school established at Lovedale in 1872 was the only institution of its kind in the Cape that attempted to train African students for service in white as well as black congregations (although no African from this mission except Tiyo Soga is known to have ministered to white communicants in the Cape Colony),’ (125). The missionaries who taught Soga were Scottish and their worldview differed significantly from that of the British governing class; at times the two groups were openly hostile to each other, as Williams has explained (1967: Chapter 3). The structures of the UPC were not enemies to Soga, they were allies against the British ruling elite. Janet Soga remained with her children within the Xhosa community after the death of her husband, as did Mrs Brownlee. Soga’s friend and mentor the Scottish Rev William Anderson took up ‘the cause of the oppressed negro in the United States’ (Soga (1867) in Bradford 2010: 338). Moreover, the UPC favoured a diocese model in which African converts were self-governing and to a large extent self-funding, independent of the central church body in Scotland and independent of all governmental bodies. The London Missionary Society ordained an African minister in 1893 and, ‘only about nine others had been ordained by 1910,’ (Switzer 1993: 125); the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, ‘established a theological school for Africans at Healdtown in 1867 [...] and four ‘native assistant missionaries’ were ordained in 1870,’ (Switzer 1993: 124).

But at times good grammar is rendered bad as Williams overcorrects Soga's work, omitting words which Soga has included, for example in the entry for Saturday 25<sup>th</sup> April 1857, Williams has, 'With what fervor would they pray for us' (1983: 12), which has a word missing from Soga's entry: 'With what fervor would they [will? only? All?] pray for us,' (handwritten Journal page 3). In the entry for May 14<sup>th</sup> Thursday [1857] where Soga has, 'How they have cheered the hearts of us all, for for nine days we have had very unfavourable winds' (handwritten Journal page 8) with that first 'for' a conjunction synonymous with 'because' or 'as', Williams has, 'How they have cheered the hearts of us all, for nine days we have had for very unfavourable winds' (1983: 14). Williams' rendition of this sentence does make it seem grammatically faulty. Williams and his transcribers have taken Soga's work to need correction for reduplication, but the intrinsic sophistication of Soga's expression is deleted, removing the measured pace of Soga's voice, his ability to take his time in his hands and be considered using embedded clauses, and his sagacity.

Even more surprisingly, William L. Andrews, editor with Gates of Pioneers of the Black Atlantic: Five Slave Narratives from the Enlightenment 1772 -1815 – Ottobah Cugoano, John Jea, John Murrant, Olaudah Equiano, James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw (1998), notes very similar orthographic practices in his 'Editor's Note', which has further implications for the way in which we read Soga's writing. The passage is worth quoting extensively because of the extent of the similarities between Andrews and Williams' editorial tasks:

The texts in this volume have been edited, but not abridged, to facilitate contemporary reading. The long *s* [ʃ], which was used routinely in eighteenth-century English printing, but which looks like an *f* to today's reader, has been printed as an *s* in the texts of this edition. We have modernized and/or emended the spelling of words in these texts to conform to contemporary American English usage. Thus words such as 'honour,' 'defence,' 'chequered,' 'Staid,' 'shew,' 'ankles,' and 'merchandize' in the original texts are emended to read 'honor,' 'defense,' 'checkered,' 'stayed,' 'show,' 'ankles,' and 'merchandise,' respectively. [...] Single words such as 'anything,' 'everyone,' 'forever,' and 'today' that in the eighteenth century usually appeared as two words—'any thing,' 'every one,' 'for ever,' and 'to day'—are reprinted in accordance with twentieth-century usage. [...] Obvious inconsistencies in spelling within a given text have been silently corrected, but when a text employs variant spellings of a word, such as 'intreat' and 'entreat,' and there is no clear indication of which spelling would have been the author's preference or in established usage at the time, we have not emended or attempted to regularize the variants. The inconsistent use of 'an' and 'a' in these texts, yielding constructions such as 'an universal good' or 'an history,' has been regularized in accordance with twentieth-century practices.

We have generally not attempted to regularize inconsistencies in capitalization within or among the texts, nor have we imposed contemporary capitalization style. Terms normally capitalized today, such as Negro or the Bible, often appear in lower case. Punctuation practices in these texts often diverge markedly from contemporary practices, for example, in the use of commas and the use of dashes. To preserve the



flavor of eighteenth-century punctuation, we have generally left punctuation unaltered, substituting contemporary practices only in certain instances for clarity's sake, such as in the treatment of block quotations. Quotations from the Bible in these texts have not been emended or corrected, nor have their accompanying biblical citations been corrected. [...]

Editor's Note pp xiii – xiv

Therefore the 'idiosyncra[s]ies and even deficiencies of a significant nature' identified by Williams in Soga's orthography and in his handwriting and spelling reveal Soga as a man of his time, his context and his milieu, relatively normal and equal to his contemporaries. Gilroy describes 'routedness' (1993: 12 - 40), as an aspect of identity which is not dependent on the place where one comes from, but rather the places to which one has travelled. This travel enables a global consciousness, rather than the straddling of two cultures.

Williams (1983: 10) highlights the importance of Soga's organisation of his work in understanding Soga, framing this discussion in a negative way as he includes it within the list of 'deficiencies'. Consequently I was surprised to find that Soga's entries in the handwritten Journal are standard in their commencement with the date and the place on and in which the entry is made, as well as a qualification of 'Lord's Day' if it is an entry written on a Sunday. If the entry concerns a sermon Soga usually includes information about the place of the sermon, the minister and/or elders officiating, their religious focus and content, the nature of each congregation, any baptisms or funerals, and the amount of money taken as tithes in each sermon. In the main the entries are around five to seven lines, but they can be as short as two or three lines or extend to five pages if Soga records itinerary journeys, whether alone or accompanied, listing the people he has met and sometimes including detail of conversations he has held around religious issues, which information Williams feels makes Soga's handwritten Journal invaluable (1983: 9). Moreover, Soga's typography is at times more organised and more conventional than his edited works allow. The entry portraying the discussion written on May 27<sup>th</sup> 1857 (handwritten Journal page 8) between *The Lady and the Lake* and the French Barque recorded in Soga's handwritten Journal as a dialogue over different lines shows that passages which seem unstructured in Williams are more structured in Soga's own writing:

May 27<sup>th</sup> Spoke a french Barque from Mar-  
 seilles to Mauritius. The following were the questions proposed  
 to her by the Lady of the Lake, after we had asked similar  
 questions from her - "What ship is that?"  
 Reply - I will spell it -  
 Where from & where bound?  
 Reply. Marseilles - Mauritius -  
 How long out at sea?  
 Reply. 30 days!  
 What is your Greenwich time?  
 Reply. - 19 - 18 - diff. 24 -  
 I wish you a good voyage.  
 Reply - I wish you a good voyage.  
 After this we ran up & down the Union Jack three times  
 by way of bidding them - good by - The compliment  
 was returned in the same way.

Figure 15: Extract of Soga's handwritten Journal (8) for May 27<sup>th</sup> 1857, discussion with French Barque.

However, in Williams (1983) this entry is recorded as follows:

May 27th Spoke a french Barque from Marseilles to Mauritius - The follow-  
 ing were the questions proposed to her by the Lady of the Lake, after we  
 had asked similar questions from her - 'What ship is that -? Reply - I will  
 spell it - Where from & where bound? Reply. - Marseilles - Mauritius -  
 How long at sea? Reply. 30 days! What is your Greenwich time? Reply. -  
 19 - 18 - diff. 24 - I wish you a good voyage - Reply - I wish you a  
 good voyage. After this we ran up & down the Union Jack three times  
 by way of bidding them - good by - The compliment was returned in the  
 same way.

Williams 1983: 14

Clearly, punctuation has been changed, with dashes added before 'Marseilles' and 'Reply' which do not occur in Soga's script. The dialogistic script which Soga uses to record this conversation portrays further an airy space which Soga affords his thoughts, revealing an openness written into the text, not the crowded and undifferentiated thoughts shown in Williams. This bears directly on the pace and style of the way in which we consider Soga's thinking. The voices of the interlocutors

are clearly differentiated in Soga's entry, but in Williams' transcription it appears as if Soga represented all voices in the same breath, as if he were unable to distinguish between them. The paragraphs are distinct, whilst in Williams, 'After this,' continues straight after 'good voyage' instead of on the next line as in the original. This hides the distinction Soga brought to bear between the interlocutors and the voice of the narrator and the essential call and response involved in this discussion, which most likely took place in the flashing light signals of Morse code rather than in words, and that he is representing words which are inaudible in this way.

This characteristic of spaciousness is allied with a key issue which has been raised which concerns the misplaced entry for 10 March 1865, a Memo which is placed at Page 12 of the handwritten Journal when it should have been included at page 60 if it were following an order chronologically correct (Williams 1983: 16 - 17). Williams states that the handwritten Journal must have been rebound (1983: 202 Note 12), but there is no evidence on the spine of the text to support this view. However it is unusual that an entire page should be left blank close to the beginning of the notebook and then used for an entry which is not chronologically correct. A close analysis of the handwritten Journal reveals that there is space left on pages throughout the text. Pages 15, 20, 21, 27, 50 and 51 have two or three lines blank at the bottom of the page, as do pages 29, 30, 41, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 52, 53, 57, 59, and 67. Even more unusually, the ink and nib used for the entry on page 12 are different from those used for all other entries, except for five entries penned at the bottom of pages 11, 16 and 26, which still have space left after the inclusion of entries in this ink and nib, and an entry in this ink and nib for December 1<sup>st</sup> 1859 starts on page 25 of the handwritten Journal and continues to page 26:



This suggests that page 26 had been left blank for the later inclusion of material in the same way as Page 12 seems to have been, although these entries are chronologically correct, and therefore that Soga routinely left space for this purpose. Two pages of the four-page entry for July 24<sup>th</sup> 1860 have headings written into the top margins in the same ink and nib: 'Kaffir difficulties in ref. to the word' titles Page 36 and 'Kaffir difficulties in reference to the word' titles page 37.

Kaffir difficulties in ref. to the word  
made to the case of one named Laffie  
I write - One of his names is Mrs. Heally. He sometimes speaks the free of  
what the bible also speaks with the word of God say - as for example this by  
saying - he is a man of God - and so on - and so on - and so on -

**Figure 18 Heading for Page 36, handwritten Journal, in different ink and nib**

Kaffir difficulties in reference to the word  
Laffie has a mother - I said she wants the entire man. A long time since then -  
- Laffie at once saw the picture of my subject his mother -  
It is a picture of a man - and so on - and so on - and so on -

**Figure 19 Heading for Page 37, handwritten Journal, in different ink and nib**

On the 4<sup>th</sup> November 1860 a sentence is added in this ink and nib to the entry already there in another nib: 'Collection £1 -5.8, Mr. Brownlee, his wife and sister present,' (handwritten Journal page 39).

Engraved Lord's day, Nov 4<sup>th</sup> 1860. The quarterly  
Communion, delayed in consequence of my absence, was celebrated this day  
- Lord's attendance at the service being - A husband about  
eighty of whom sustained by affliction - and then from  
home - Presented from "both part the possession of him - 10<sup>th</sup> and  
more - "to this in remembrance of me" - Collection £1 - 5. 8  
also Brownlee, his wife & sister present -

**Figure 20 4<sup>th</sup> November 1860, handwritten Journal page 39, an extra sentence added to entry at the end.**

The full entry for the 30 November 1861 (handwritten Journal page 47) is included in this nib and ink, as is the entry for October 31 1869 (handwritten Journal Page 64).

This analysis raises questions about the accuracy and authenticity of this journal as a historical

record because if some entries were written years after their occurrence they might be tarnished by time and therefore unreliable. Perhaps the handwritten Journal is written by the same person wielding a different pen at different stages in his life; perhaps by 'a different person wielding the pen.' There is no corroborating handwriting for Chalmers against which to measure these entries to discern whether the entries added in this uniform nib and ink were written by Soga or by Chalmers. Furthermore, although the entry for 10 March 1865 on Page 12 of the handwritten Journal appears to end on a point which can be interpreted as being the final step in a line of thinking - that the removal of the Ngqika people across the Kei river will result in the Gcaleka, Ngqika and Tamboekies uniting in war against the British - there is still the possibility that this document is continued elsewhere.

Williams also notices the importance of Soga's punctuation:

[...] Thus Tiyo Soga's original punctuation has been retained, especially his beloved dash instead of commas and fullstops (sic). Where punctuation is missing, it has been inserted in square brackets only when deemed essential for comprehension. Capitals have been used for proper names, books of the Bible, the Sabbath, etc.

Williams 1983: 10

However it is an oversight to note Soga's use of the 'dash instead of commas and full stops'. There are neither dashes nor hyphens in Soga's handwritten Journal, but underscores. There is only one hyphen used as a hyphen in the entire handwritten Journal for the entry of May 27<sup>th</sup> 1857 included above, in which Soga transcribes the Greenwich time given by the barque which passes *The Lady of the Lake* outside Santa Cruz on the way down to Cape Town (Williams 1983: 14 and handwritten Journal page 8). Although Soga's primary punctuation mark is the underscore, he does use other punctuation marks freely throughout the rest of the handwritten Journal. Soga uses full stops to abbreviate 'S.S.E.' and 'N.N.E' in the entry for May 27<sup>th</sup> 1857, and his use of commas is judicious throughout his handwritten Journal, although occasionally he fails to use the second comma after a non-defining relative clause. Again, Soga's use of the underscore is not unique to him, and can be seen in the writing of several of his contemporary missionaries, ministers, and writers. Rev. W. Davies also uses an underscore as a full stop (BSA/FC/1834/3: 53) as he does in a letter of June 22 1835 (BSA/FC/1835: 134). However what is particular to Soga is that the lengths of the underscores vary, from between 1mm and 3cm (on the 5<sup>th</sup> January 1862), where other usage seems quite consistently to be the length of an em dash, and Soga's variation in the length of underscores is not arbitrary in any way. Soga has been consistent in his use of underscores of different lengths to fulfil specific functions. Whilst it is unwitting, it is nonetheless consistent. Possibly because the

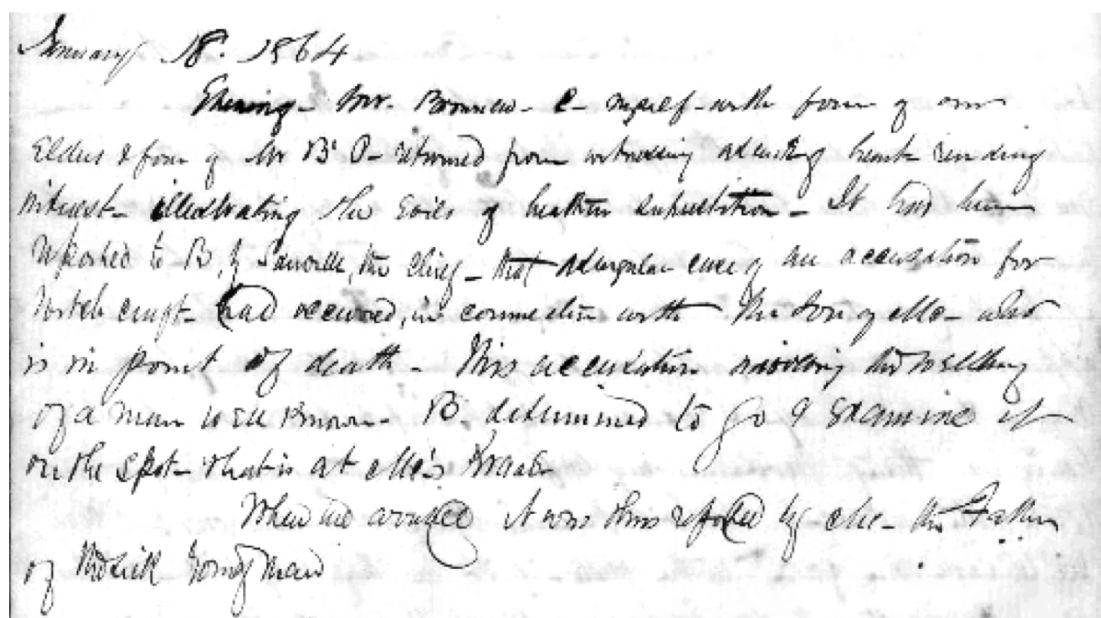
handwritten Journal has not been accessed by other scholars as a source, scholars have continued to represent Soga's underscores as hyphens or dashes (Njeze 2000: 128, Masilela).<sup>40</sup> Continuing discussion of Soga's punctuation should instead focus on his use of the underscore. This usage also points to the history of the underscore as a compelling site of academic endeavour. Quirk (1985) does not even list it as a punctuation mark. Its use is not restricted to a twenty-first century computing mark, and its other uses need to be researched and discussed in order that we can see how the underscore has been used to reveal or shape identity.

In his unpublished thesis on tonal patterns in iintsomi, Gough (1986) has transcribed recordings of iintsomi recounted in Xhosa, in which he focuses on the use of intonation in speech in Xhosa to indicate 'idea units' within each narration which 'go together' or refer to each other, and also indicate idea units which are not related, to make a story comprehensible to the audience. Gough also explains that, 'Idea units are 'foci of consciousness' (63) and describes the lexicographic markers which demarcate the end of each 'idea unit' as firstly a pause, secondly a clause final intonation, and thirdly include a single clause (64). The length of each pause is important because, as with lexical markers, which are also called discourse particles and which comprise especially clause-initial adverbials and frequently occur with the enclitic 'ke,' (Gough 1986: 74) these pauses and transitions signal a new voice (74 - 75 and Chapter 6) and involve a conceptual reorganisation as they concern different mental images. Longer pauses indicate a disjuncture in which a character which has not been referred to recently, which has to be brought forward from a remote part of memory, and a context which is similarly removed from the immediate context of the story, is about to be introduced. Gough notes that the 'system [is] realised through a perturbation of these tones' (64). He continues: 'Boundaries between centres of interest are thus characterised by low pitch endings and high pitch beginnings' (72) and signal both tone and voice. Throughout each sentence there is a tonal downstep, where the centre of interest is signalled by increases of pitch level and a downdrift pattern (75). Neither paragraphs nor paratones can be distinguished as distinct organisational patterns in discourse (73) so I do not wish to divide these pages according to paragraphs. I would like to suggest that Soga's use of the underscore represents first and foremost Gough's downdrift, whether purposefully or not, and that it is possible to interpret Soga's work according to the length of the underscores in determining whether ideas are related to others immediately around them or whether the ideas are being imported from a remote context. The underscores aid in revealing the speakerliness of the text, that they comprise a dialogistic technique,

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<sup>40</sup> <http://pzacad.pitzer.edu/nam/presxhos/writers/tsoga/tsogaS.htm>  
<http://pzacad.pitzer.edu/nam/general/modernity.pdf>

not interlocative but multivocal, allowing different voices to be heard. As such Gough highlights the speakerliness of oration in Xhosa culture, specifically focusing on the way in which tones are used to foreground and indicate meaning.<sup>41</sup> The underscores used by Soga are secondly indicative of these ‘foci of consciousness’ and the length of the underscores indicates the idea units which are associated with each other, and which are novel and self-referential. Soga is using a long pause, indicated as a longer underscore, as a foregrounding technique to indicate that the key figure in the ‘idea unit’ to be introduced has not been previously included in the context of his narrative and is introduced from an alternative context, while his use of a short pause, indicated by a shorter underscore, reflects that idea units are linked more closely, that the central figure of a narrative has been mentioned recently, perhaps even in a previous story. Underscores 1mm and 2mm in length do indeed indicate quick links between ideas, as seen in this entry drawn from Soga’s diary from January 18 1864, on page 57 of the handwritten Journal:



January 18. 1864  
 Evening - Mr. Parnell - a member of the Gaika  
 tribe & son of Mr B's O - returned from introducing himself to the  
 District - illustrating the evils of heathen superstition - It was then  
 reported to B, by Sawelle, the chief - that Adangula - one of his accusations for  
 witchcraft - had occurred, in connection with the son of the - who  
 is in point of death - This accusation raising the possibility  
 of a man to be hanged - B. determined to go & examine it  
 on the spot - that is at the O's house  
 When he arrived it was then reported by the - the father  
 of the sick boy was

**Figure 21 January 18 1864, on page 57 of the handwritten Journal, with short underscores**

In the following excerpt, the ‘Memo’ regarding the removal of the Gaika tribe, from the entry dated 11<sup>th</sup> March 1865, (Handwritten Journal: 12, Williams 1983: 16), all underscores are of consistent lengths in this entry, between 3-5mm and between 6.5 and 6.7mm for the longer ones:

<sup>41</sup> The idea of Xhosa as a tonal language has been taken up by some scholars, however because it is not a tonal language in the way in which Chinese may be, in which a word has different meanings according to the tone in which it is uttered, this aspect of studying Xhosa has not been taken forward that thoroughly. For work on this, see Lanham (1958: 65- 81), Guthrie (1961) and Hvitfeldt (1982).





May 4<sup>th</sup> 1857. Good day - We heard  
last night that another child, belonging to the same <sup>family</sup> parents had  
died - It appears they were twins - General again today -  
Mr Johnson, send the Burial service - Good day - At  
night we found to day -

Figure 23 4 May 1857, Handwritten Journal page 6, with long wavy underscore closing the entry

Here the underscore closes the entry, and is the second longest in the handwritten Journal. The discussion is significant to Soga's experience of slavery and the middle passage. It is also a wiggly underscore. Soga's underscores vary in straightness. Quirk (1985: 1635) states that 'wriggle underlining in manuscript and typescript can be used informally to indicate emphasis.' Wavy underscores routinely appear at the end of an entry, for example, the entry for June 2<sup>nd</sup> 1857 (handwritten Journal page 9):

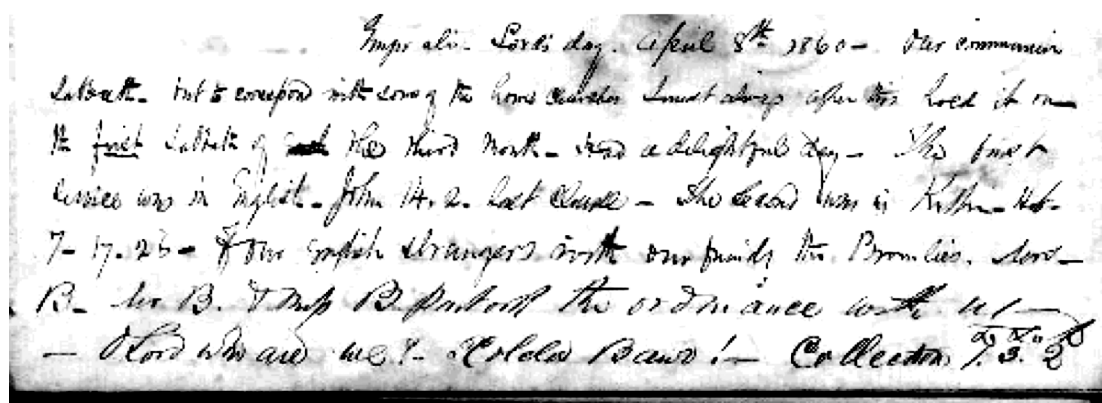
are somewhat abated in their force -  
Tuesday June 2<sup>d</sup> 1857 - We crossed the equator  
last night betw 8 & 9 o'clock - A good stay in  
our way - We have made tolerably good passage  
from the down to the line. as we are not likely now  
to encounter any more calms, we anticipate being in Africa  
Bay (or) beyond the close of the month - A beautiful  
day with delight but steady wind -

Figure 24 June 2<sup>nd</sup> 1857 (Handwritten Journal page 9).

Lord's day. Dear to the the quarterly communion was held today.  
About 70 persons sat down to the ordinance - Sixty seven of whom  
were natives - It was again full of the - & I trust a delightful  
communion - & the Lord's presence with his people - Each person -  
12-1-2 - Communion address - 1. Cor X-16 - & in the evening prayer  
from Matt 28. 5-6 - Hope Brethren for the first time partook of the  
fruits of our salvation - Two backsliders returned to this  
communion - Joy & rejoicing -

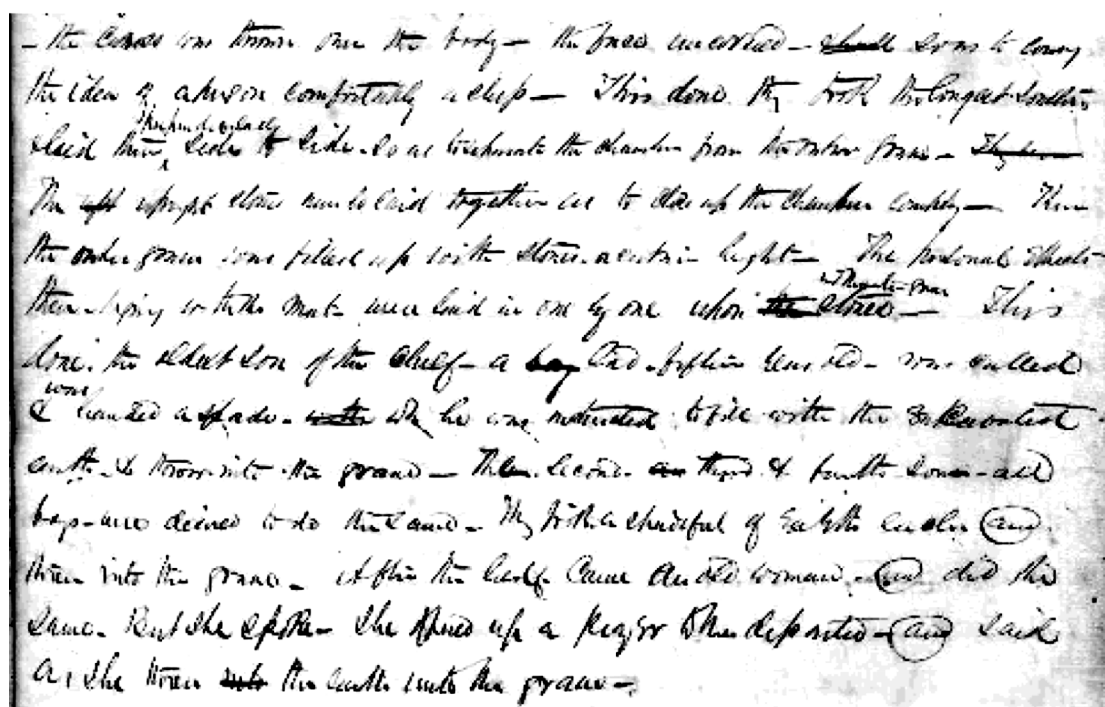
Figure 25 December 10<sup>th</sup> 1859, handwritten Journal page 27, a wiggly underscore closes the entry. Soga's rare use of double underscores change the topic, followed by double punctuation marks,

underscore and exclamation mark, bring the topic back to the subject at hand.



**Figure 26 Handwritten Journal page 31 with double punctuation marks**

Longer underscores indicate a change of thought or an end to an entry, almost as a truncated ruled line. The long 15, 16 or 17mm underscores indicate a syntactic disjuncture, with their inherent pauses permitting reflection, whether upon the past or the future. Longer underscores might also signal the end of an entry. In the entry of almost four pages for Feb 3<sup>rd</sup> 1861, the long underscores denote changes in topic:



**Figure 27 Handwritten Journal page 42 longer underscores indicate syntactic disjuncture**

Crumbley's (1997) investigation into Dickinson's use of the dash in her handwritten manuscripts of her poetry is also illuminating. Crumbley (1997: 107) studies the 'Graphocentric poetics' in

Dickinson's work. The dashes denote an importance in the space between the words, and signal 'marks of ruptures' or 'shiftings'. In his discussion on Dickinson's writing as well as various editors' treatment of it, Crumbley sounds strangely similar to Gates and Williams and it is therefore worth quoting him at length.

I propose that the marks all but a few recent editors have reductively designated as either em or en 'dashes' are central to a graphocentric poetics within which they perform as highly nuanced visual signals intimately linked to Dickinson's experiments with poetic voice. The broad category of marks that come under the heading 'dash' suggest subtle gradations of inflection and syntactic disjunction that multiply the voices in poems and letters. Precisely because these dashes can expand rather than restrict voicing options, they play an important role in defining a poetic project designed to present readers a wide range of simultaneous meanings. The succeeding close examination of the way dashes perform within the larger context of manuscript chirography aims to increase appreciation for the visual and vocal richness of Dickinson's writing, while also clarifying a key aesthetic project: her strategy for investing readers with the authority to challenge the social determination of linguistic content.

Instead of finding one single poetic voice, even within individual poems, stylistic countercurrents – provoked primarily by punctuation, capitalization, and diction – invariably suggested a divided self. Dickinson's dashes in particular seemed to belie the orderliness of her poetry's common measure and ballad and hymn meters, transforming a poem such as 'This is my letter to the World' (P441, MBED 548) from a paean to universal harmony to an angry assertion of the poet's outsider status in the cosmos.

[...] I began to see that the dashes perform a key function by disrupting conventional thought patterns. As Dickinson's primary punctuation, they tell us that the poems introduce polyvocality as a direct challenge to the primacy of a single unified voice. Familiar child, bride, and Queen or poet speakers, for example, which recur throughout the poems, speak from a spectrum of positions that stretch from the conventional to the wild.

But rather than reenter the search for a reductive master narrative, I considered the possibility that varying speakers and voices were not meant to function exclusively, according to a hierarchic logic validating one over all others.

Crumbley 1997: 1

In order to further his argument that Dickinson's writing comprises a speaker adopting multiple voices and enunciating different subject positions, both those in mimicry and those in defiance of the subject position required of women in Dickinson's context and era, Crumbley argues that Dickinson's dashes imply the 'multitudinous potentiality of that self and its innate resistance to reification in social discourse,' (Crumbley 1997: 9). Crumbley begins with an understanding drawn from Kristeva (*Revolution* 15 in Crumbley 1997: 18) that poetry, more than any other literary form, allows 'heteroglossia' and is 'polyvocal,' and reminds us of Bakhtin's understanding that, "Each

word contains voices that are sometimes infinitely distant, unnamed, ... and voices resounding nearby and simultaneously' (Speech 124)' (Crumbly 1997: 19). Moreover Crumbly notes that Dickinson's use of dashes is highly significant in the promotion of those voices as they signify a disjuncture between those voices and, 'disrupt[...] the syntactic linearity suggestive of specific linguistic destinations,' (Crumbly 1997: 20). Crumbly reflects on Dickinson's potential use of polyvocality to allow her to repeat without internalising the voices which operated on a hegemonic level around her, to use the discourse but only as a professional tennis player requires an opponent against which to extend a victory. Crumbly questions the 'attitude of the speaker,' (1997: 21).

Soga's use of the underscore differs from that of Dickinson because Dickinson drafted and redrafted her work and that because her meanings were deliberate, whilst Soga did not revise or self-edit or publish his whole oeuvre. The idea that Soga's handwritten Journal if studied as a text itself will reveal a text redolent of multiplicity of self, not a self torn and divided but a self 'negotiating identity and a self emerging through, rather than in, the text' (Kristeva in Crumbly) is merit enough I believe for us to study the handwritten Journal rather than an edited edition of the Journal. This argument is highlighted in feminist discourse, especially African-American feminist discourse, where the notion of the self as multiple has been expressed most beautifully by Toni Morrison in her text Beloved (1987), which allows also for a self with complementary but different personae.

Whilst Gough notes that syntactic discontinuity during the narration of an *introsomni* signals conceptual discontinuity, he also notes that this is extremely rare (1986: 88). Syntactic discontinuity or lacunae could also indicate free indirect speech, revealing the state of mind of the protagonist through interior monologue written in this grammatical type. Gates also mentions this multiplicity or polyvocality in reference to the split or double consciousness of free indirect discourse in Zora Neale Hurston's work (1988: 207 - 210). Gates says that interior monologue allows two voices which together can express a split or double consciousness. Double-voiced discourse has connotations of double consciousness (Gates 1988: xxiii, xxv - xxviii; 110 - 13).

Free indirect discourse is not the voice of both a character and a narrator; rather it is a bivocal utterance, containing elements of both direct and indirect speech. It is an utterance that no one could have spoken, yet which we recognize because of its characteristic 'speakerliness,' its paradoxically written manifestation of the aspiration to the oral.

Abrahams 1970: 2 in Gates 1986: 208; footnote 34

According to Bakhtin (in Gates 1988: 209), free indirect discourse effects polyphony because the

voice of the protagonist or subject is two toned, carrying two voices, one black and one white. Double voicedness allows us again to discuss polyvocality and double consciousness, and intimates double consciousness. WEB Du Bois explains 'double-consciousness' as 'a second-sight in this American world, -- a world which yields [the Negro] no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world' (1973: 3):

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, --an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

1973: 3

However I submit that Soga did not experience or develop an 'unreconcilable two-ness' (Du Bois 1957: 5) as a black subject, and nor did he experience self-disregard or abnegation. Soga's two letters to the press, one a pithy complaint about his treatment at a bridge by the bridge keeper (Williams 1983: 182) and the other in response to Chalmers' letter, '*What is the Destiny of the Kafir Race?*' (Williams 1983: 178 - 182) indicate clearly that Soga dealt with racism in the South African context, and that he protested most vehemently, publicly and openly against it and its effects.

DuBois characterises double consciousness further as,

this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face.

1973: 4

However this does not seem applicable to Soga, whose blackness was accepted, encouraged and highlighted as important in Scotland, and for whom Xhosa cultural identity was an important aspect of life. There is also no evidence that he internalised the pernicious untruths described as 'the roots of racism' since Fanon's work in the 1950s and 1960s. On the contrary, Soga became more and more firm in his advocacy of black integrity and power. He always upheld the authority of the chiefs and traditional power structures, and showed no sign of a sense of victimisation. Fuelled by self-belief and a sense of personal pre-eminence, Soga continued to lead and to politic until his early death, and would have continued to lead had he recovered from the illness which killed him. Soga used the press as a means to express his perspective, even when his perspective questioned the injustice of prejudice. It also shows his confidence in words and discourse as a means to both

combat that racism and assert his authority, two different actions which flout racist misapprobations. This thesis has seen no evidence that Soga was in any way split asunder. A significant difference between Soga and African-American thinkers is that Soga was brought up within a strong mother culture and achieved that ‘self-conscious manhood’ that ‘better and truer self’ that allowed him only ever to be proud of his race. He went to Scotland for a period almost totalling a decade and expanded his consciousness, enlarged his understanding, but did not experience this split. Contemporary notions of identity as multiple and contradictory allow for an individual as comprised of multiple, and even conflicting, perspectives and stances, and theorise that the need to pare these down to one ‘unified’ identity is a function of cultural colonialism. Gilroy interrogates the need for essentialist and uniform identity, (Gilroy 1993: 1 - 3) and stresses that quests for evidence of cultural authenticity are reactionary in that they are at once requests for tradition. This association with tradition locks black subjects into an antiquated narrative rather than portraying black subjects as dynamic and responsive people contemporaneous to their age (Gilroy 1993: 92; 96 - 103) and ironically forces black subjects to adhere to a set of values which may not have been part of the cultural tradition.

De Kock (1994(b)) notes that Soga experienced doubt about his religious beliefs and his ordination, and reminds us that this is a subject to which Chalmers has dedicated a chapter in his 1877/78 text called ‘*Dark Shadows*,’ (1877/78: 257 - 279) which describes Soga’s experience of a clash between the two cultures which he ‘straddled’ through his religious affiliation. De Kock calls this Ignatian doubt, showing Soga drawing in strength in his Christian beliefs through the experience of this doubt (De Kock 1994(b): 48). De Kock queries whether,

Soga was, in his own way, merely re-articulating a salvation narrative in which the ‘dark night of the soul’ was a standard trope. However, Soga’s situation as an African in European cultural robes, and the specific difficulties of his biographical situation (see Saayman 60-61) do lend his alleged utterances a particular poignancy which is less easily reducible to the more standard tropes of Christian anguish, suggesting that the Ignatian discourse coincided to some extent with strong feelings of personal alienation.

1994(b): 48

This reading stresses this sense of double consciousness. But De Kock notes that, ‘It is unfortunately necessary to read Soga’s account of his spiritual agony through the medium of Chalmers’s (sic) book, since Chalmers had access to material which has since been lost,’ and acknowledges that, ‘Chalmers ‘took liberties’ [Williams 209] in his editing of this material, but De Kock finds that as a sole source, Chalmers’ account ‘is nevertheless valuable’ (1994 footnote 11: 55). De Kock trusts the verity of Chalmers’ rendition implicitly, as he explains:

It seems unlikely, however, that Chalmers would have invented the entries, since they potentially run contrary to his thesis of the 'Model Kafir.' It seems more likely that he felt able to 'recuperate' Soga's doubts within the Ignatian mould. It is therefore more probable that if anything he may have lessened the severity of Soga's declarations of doubt than have invented or exaggerated them, since to exaggerate them would have been more destructive to his thesis that 'Dark Shadows' were followed by 'Glimpses of Sunshine'.

De Kock, 1994(b): 56 footnote 12

Indeed, Chalmers claims to have had access to another diary of Soga's than the handwritten Journal now lodged at Howard Pim Library, and to have excerpted the entries from this, Soga's 'official diary' for the chapter '*Dark Shadows*,' which he notes 'were chiefly jotted down in Greek characters, or the Kafir language,' because they were, 'Never intended to be seen or read by another,' (Chalmers 1877/78: 271). Nonetheless, Chalmers decided that these passages should be included in his biography, as he explains:

It is not ruthlessly dragging them out into the light of day, to place some of them before the reader, as they describe more powerfully than another could, some of the most beautiful traits of his character, as he knelt with childlike simplicity before the Father of all, to tell what most he felt and suffered.

Chalmers 1877/78: 272

The disparaging condescension in these words cannot be underestimated. The use of the words 'beautiful,' 'childlike,' and 'simplicity' along with 'felt' and 'suffered' belittle Soga and render him an abject subject through a melancholic and romantic depiction, similar to that of slaves as needing salvation as Brantlinger discusses (1996). Soga is shown to be helpless, unintelligent, emotive, uneducated and unable to shape his response to these issues as would an adult religious leader, with a theology degree. Chalmers' description of Soga as having 'jotted down' his thoughts shows Chalmers does not consider the rather voluminous amount of literature as having been highly thought out, which furthermore flies in the face of the erudite complexity to which he translates Soga's alleged work. And the word 'characters' also does not equate to 'letters'. The only two languages in which Soga writes in his handwritten Journal are English and Xhosa, he fails even to give quips, proverbs or sayings in Greek; he fails even to include a single Greek character throughout the entire of his handwritten Journal. There is every reason for Soga to have read Greek but he did not write in it. Moreover the tone which Chalmers ascribes to Soga in his translation of Soga's 'Greek' makes it is hard to believe that Chalmers' translation comprises an accurate rendition of Soga's voice: I have quoted the lengthy entry because extracts would be too narrow to feel the force of the tone which is created over a number of paragraphs:



5<sup>th</sup> January [1862?].—’I have to complain of one grand defect in my character – irresolution. I cannot tell how many times I have resolved and re-resolved to be under God a better man than I know myself to be. All my resolutions in this respect have miserably come to naught. I have in reference to my state before God, to complain of the following things:-- Although I know myself to be a great deceiver, although I know the consequences of this awful sin, in having taken unadvisedly upon myself the work of the ministry, although I know that all that I have hitherto been doing in that ministry has been in hypocrisy, and insincerity, I have to lament my deadness and hardness of heart in reference to these sins. When I attempt to peruse the word of God, it has no effect upon my mind. I remain unmoved. I have no sufficient sensibility to and perception of my sins. This I feel as if it were a barrier to my obtaining any true penitence regarding them. O God, by Thy spirit move me and Thou shalt have the entire glory. Thou knowest the heart. Thou knowest that I desire truly to obtain Thy forgiveness for all these sins. I desire to obtain true humility and brokenness of spirit, to obtain that happiness which I never had, and which it is impossible for me to have until God for Jesus’ sake pardon me. Lord I leave myself in Thy hands. Holy Spirit! instruct and enlighten me; and Thou, Christ Jesus, fulfil to me Thy promise, ‘Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out.’

‘Lord’s day 15<sup>th</sup> January. – It is of no use, my weakness becomes more and more apparent. Since writing the above I have made no effort to be better, I am going back. There is the most unaccountable hardness and unbelief in my heart. Help me, Lord God, of Thine own mercy. My besetting sins are hypocrisy, unbelief, an evil temper. All these issue from the fountain of a heart which has not been born again.

Chalmers 1877/78: 273

And

‘30<sup>th</sup> January.—Read that delightful book, on ‘The Object of Life,’ by Todd. I remember my own sin and guilt in this matter. The great object, the real object of life, he says, is to live for God. It is as if God would enable me to fulfil this object to overcome my sins. I feel as if I have been solemnized. Cast me not off, O Lord!

Chalmers 1877/78: 273

A close examination of Chalmers’ text reveals that the entries indicate a tone of helplessness. But these entries are not in Soga’s diary, Chalmers must have taken them from the ‘other’ ‘official’ diary. Chalmers has mixed up the entries chronologically, and the dates of these two entries seem to be from 1863 but are actually from 1862. I would like to submit that Chalmers has, in direct contradiction to De Kock’s (1994(b): 56 Footnote 12) assertion, invented the entire and subsequent entries. The ‘enormity of [Soga’s] guilt’ that ‘[t]he Gospel has all that time been preached by [him] in hypocrisy,’ and his prayer: ‘I cannot take credit to myself for anything; yet I live. Lord, Thou has saved many thousands from hypocrisy and indifference. To whom shall I go? Thou alone canst save me!’ are decidedly at odds with the tone in Soga’s handwritten Journal for the beginning of November of that year:

Emgwali. Lord’s day. 2d Novr. 1862. Had a very good day – good home congregations – The two outstations came here today – Preached in Kafir from Amos. 111. 7 – ‘Shall there be evil in a city & the Lord etc’. Made special allusion to the present visitation of drought. Explained the cause of it – God - & the probably Reasons of his chastisement –

Baptised Nkohla's youngest child – ( a girl) – Janet – [name illegible] youngest – a girl – Claas Coornelis' youngest – girl – Mrs Cookman's youngest – girl – two grown up children of Claas Coornelis's –

English – preached from PS 107 – 'He led them forth by the night way that they might have a city of habitation'

Afternoon – 'See that ye refuse not him that speaketh'

At the close of the services I intimated that we wd have a general prayer meeting for rain – on Tuesday.

Tuesday -4<sup>th</sup> Novr – The invitation having been sent round the Chiefs of Districts, there was a large gathering of Kaffirs & Fingoes, who came or rain – There were 413 people present in the Church - & a fine assembly it was – May the Lord [word illegible] his name among the heathen by hearing the supplications of his people.

Williams 1983: 35 - 36

Here Soga is upbeat, with no evidence of the depression from which Chalmers claims Soga was suffering. His positive attitude as evidenced by his description 'very good day' combined with the baptisms and his analysis that he had a 'fine assembly' where 'the supplications of [the Lord's] people' were obvious, is again at odds with the extract which Chalmers records Soga as penning in his alleged other diary, two weeks later on the 17<sup>th</sup> November 1862:

Yesterday I read Phelp's 'Still Hour.' I trust that God has sent that book to bless my poor soul. I earnestly beseech the Lord to make it a blessing. My heart is in great darkness. I do not believe that there is a more wretched man on earth than I. My heart is not right with God. The cause of this unhappiness of soul is seen in my temper. It seems as if I cannot make others happy, because I myself am wretched. There are three great defects in the struggles of my soul towards a right state of heart with God: 1<sup>st</sup>. Want of veneration for, and reverence and fear of God. 2<sup>nd</sup>. I look far too much to my sins, and the consequence is I see them, and am so discouraged as not to see Christ. 3<sup>rd</sup>. I look too much for something in the heart – a kind of sign that I believe. Guide me, O God, to a right knowledge of Thee. Blessed Spirit, come!

Chalmers 1877/78: 277 - 278

In fact 1858 was a year in which Soga experienced much more doubt, regret and even horror, but he expressed these in an altogether different voice than that with which Chalmers accredits him. It also makes no sense that these entries which Chalmers includes from his 'official' journal would be in his official journal, rather than his private journal, seeing as an official journal, if it ever existed, would be and remain church property. Even the questions which Soga asks of his faith in his handwritten Journal are written in Xhosa instead of English, to avoid a British eye.

The first sign of guilt is given on April 10 1858, when Soga writes: 'May he pardon and purify from Sanctuary guilt and unworthiness,' (Williams 1983: 17). Then there is Soga's refusal of converts from Sandili's kraal on May 25 1858:

Visited Sandilli's craal & preached to an audience of about twenty individuals – They professed to me to the word of God – which I denied, because their works do not agree with their words – Sandilli himself was not at home.

Williams 1983: 18

Yet this reticence may also be an example of the test which missionaries carried out to estimate the extent of peoples' faith and therefore permit or refuse people the right to settle at the mission station in King William's Town (Vernal 2003).

On June 27 1858 Soga records a further instance of feelings of guilt:

Emgwali – Lord's Day evening n- June 28-1858 – The Sabbath service's held as usual – Not such a large attendances as there is generally – a number of our people from Home – Mr J[ohnston] preached in the forenoon & in the Evening in English – In the afternoon I preach upon the duties of parents to their children – texts – Ester VI 4. Cols III.21 – But will God bless his work – What is the state of the preacher's heart as to personal-consistent godliness – Oh Lord look on me –[...] – Let me learn some useful lessons from what I saw at Lovedale – But oh Lord – wilt thou make an instrument in they hands notwithstanding of what thou knowest me to be – To *whom* can I go[?]

Williams 1983: 19 [emphasis in the original].

Here we see Soga questioning whether God as a parent would observe his duty to Soga, his child, in blessing his work, and then beseeching Him for help. In Soga's entry for July 18 1858 there is a hint of meiosis, Soga's use of irony foreshadowing a change of opinion:

Lord's day. July 18<sup>th</sup>. Preached forenoon 'Xt – Everlasting Father the Prince of peace' – preached at least to my own comfort – attention sustained throughout.

Williams 1983: 20

Here we are also unable to see whether it is the audience who sustained their attention throughout the sermon, or Soga himself. The wryness of this entry does permit a sense of humour to shine through. There is a similar sense of disdain in an undated entry from August of that year, probably the second August as the next entry is the ninth, 'May God bless his own blessed truth'. An entry possibly from the 13<sup>th</sup> November 1859 (previous and following entries support this date) shows Soga experiencing a sense of doubt as well as certainty in the strength of God in his life:

Ndisikelele Bawo. Umsebenzi wako namhla – wasikelele kodwa umpefumlo – Mabati abo bazililelayo ngezono zabo bandisulele ndililele ezam iizono – Undincede ndikolwe koko ndikhushumayela kwabanye – bawo ndifuna? Ukuzilahllela kuwe ngemilo yam. [Trans. You bless me, Lord. Your work today overwhelms me, but the spirit – Let those who are crying over their sins move me to cry over my own, and help me to believe in what I am preaching to the others. Father, I throw myself at you as I am.]

Williams 1983: 22

There is furthermore a sense of guilt in the entry for December 17 1859:

Saturday 17<sup>th</sup> December 1859 – Much gratified by the admission of two young women into my Enquirer's class – One of them a girl of very sharp, severe temper – She appears serious - & I have observed her so for some time past – The other young woman is the daughter of one of the Kaffirs, who lately came amongst us – These enquiring souls, should awake me to greater concern of my own state before God.

Williams 1983: 24

This self-awareness and self-criticism indicates a person fully aware of himself and operating with a self-reflection which is censorious. This is not a person with a limited understanding of the religious sentiments which he propounded.

April 8<sup>th</sup> 1860 [...] The second [service] was in Kaffir – Heb-7-17-26 – four strangers with our friends the Brownlies [Brownlees] Mrs-B-Mr.N & Miss B. partook of the ordinance with us - Oh Lord, who are we? Xolela Bawo! Forgive, Father! [...]

Williams 1983: 25

Soga's questions are much more benign and signal much less than the Darkness to which Chalmers refers. Therefore De Kock does not need to rely on Chalmers because his is the 'sole text'. In fact Soga's handwritten Journal is the sole text and alone should be studied as Soga's work. However, De Kock has not substantiated what Chalmers' thesis of the Model Kaffir really looked like; as I shall argue in Chapter 6: *Ventriloquism*, Chalmers' notion of the model Kaffir was not that of a strong leader, but a novice or 'page' who kneels 'with childlike simplicity,' and who, despite being almost a decade senior and having travelled extensively and been educated, yet considers his junior friend Chalmers to be his superior. Chalmers has written Soga's history chiefly to accommodate Chalmers' own largesse of spirit and purported generosity. Therefore I do not find any evidence of Soga's double consciousness, and I would prefer to refer to Soga as an early Black Consciousness intellectual.

De Kock comments on Soga's writing in *Indaba* under the pseudonym '*Unonjiba wasehuhlangeni*', stating that Soga 'harboured sentiments of Xhosa loyalty quite contrary to what was expected of a missionary in 'Xhosaland,' (De Kock 1996(b): 180, also 1994(b)) as viewed in his 'textual celebration of oral culture,' (180). However De Kock's reading of Soga's subversion does not contain a transformative power in which a challenge to the status quo is levelled. De Kock is loath to call Soga a Black Consciousness intellectual, and prefers to refer to him as an agonist, following Jean and John Comaroff's adaptation of this concept for their representation of black workers on European mission stations who were able to adapt and access power within their responsibilities.

Soga's writing 'presents the contradiction of seeming to celebrate a pristine oral culture in an orthodox missionary publication whose existence denies such a state of innocence' (1996(b): 180). De Kock's perception of this literary and cultural subversion is that '[Soga's] position therefore seems to have combined a reverence for Xhosa culture and history which would have been alien to the typical missionary attitude, with an implicit endorsement of the power and correctness of the new Western order of literacy of which he had become an agent,' (1996(b): 181). De Kock notes 'Soga's own writing, however, provides evidence of contradiction and agonistic response, even while he apparently reproduces an orthodox text of missionary sentiment,' (1996(b): 172; 1994(b): 34)) but his proof of this in Soga's enunciation of his doubts of his religion (1996(b): 175 – 178; 1994(b): 46 - 48) did not seem to go far enough to explain either the contradiction or the agonism which he postulated. De Kock also argues that Soga's revolutionary impulse was quashed because he could not dispel the authority of the colonial logocentric enterprise.

Soga was relying on a distinction between 'deceivers' and 'genuine facts' and between 'truth' and 'falsehood' which, significantly, depended on a central institution of truth-bearing such as the newspaper, but his argument entirely begged the question of the interest – which presumably underlies all 'falsehood' – of the newspaper and its missionary supporters. The mere existence of facts in a written form in a newspaper, according to Soga, gave them the higher status of 'truth'. One is irresistibly led to speculate on the invisible assumption behind this argument – that 'truth' was better served by Christians and missionaries.

De Kock 1996 (b): 180 - 181, 1994(b): 51

Whether Soga was 'relying on' or interrogating these distinctions is unproven. The mere fact that Soga was so enthusiastic about a newspaper predominantly for and by Xhosa speakers has been overlooked in this analysis. It is as if De Kock has forgotten that this original article was written in Xhosa and that he himself would not have been able to read it unless it had been translated by Rev. Jolobe into English, let alone accuse Soga of being caught in an ironic bind of 'museumising' (1996(b): 183, also 1994(b): 52 - 3) Xhosa by writing it down and thereby unwittingly aiding in the destruction of Xhosa history because he fails to identify the loss of cultural capital which would take place in reducing Xhosa culture from an oral to a written practice, as well as the intercultural authority and power of written culture over oral culture. In this depiction, Soga has become a colonised subject whose cultural compass has been realigned to direct him toward the larger magnetic value of English, European or Enlightenment culture. The impetus behind Soga's writing is not investigated, and nor is his content read with an ear for irony: the 'truth' here may just as easily be an ironic poking of fun at the establishment for holding onto printed facts as truth, for believing that once something is written down – whether it be words in a statement or the depiction of a border on a map – it becomes cast in iron, an unassailable representation of reality.

Whilst it is anachronistic to label Soga a Black Consciousness theorist when the term was not in use during Soga's lifetime, and when black solidarity was virtually impossible to discern in the cultural moment of Enlightenment's racism, I feel that it is judicious because as this thesis will continue to argue in the next chapters, Soga had links to other Black thinkers, or 'proto Pan-Negroists' as Gilroy calls them. In Chapter Three: *Transculturation In Deed* I shall place Soga within a community of radical black intellectuals pioneering for black colonisation of Africa, and in Chapter Four *Reading Soga (2) Tropes and Scopes* I shall investigate Soga's writing to find the elements of Black Consciousness which permeate it and prove that Soga was indeed a pioneer black intellectual with a focus on issues of nation, of solidarity.

Thus De Kock, whilst being the most thorough and penetrating theorist to comment on Soga's work, is nonetheless bound by a need to define between and betwixt rather than to think about Soga as a complex thinker with multiple influences, permitting all to operate simultaneously, which is how I would like to think of him and how Attwell tries to think of him, as a transculturator, as I discuss in Chapter Three: *Transculturation In Deed*; a person not divided but enlarged and expanded, not pored between but globalised. For De Kock, Soga remains locked in a binary from which he is always going to be unable to escape, and within which he can never look anything other than emaciated and impoverished. Gilroy warns against this, and asks us to assert depictions of intelligent black thinkers (Gilroy 1993: 5 - 6), and feminists also advocate the choice of a third way rather than the binary opposition, preferring a panoptic globalised perspective. Bradford's 2011 work on Soga has started to study Soga within his contemporary Christian global networks, linking him with other thinkers and 'native' missionaries. These meanings all show that the global relevance of the study of Soga to literary history and grammatical history, to the history of the use of punctuation, to the history of modernity and the Enlightenment.

Therefore I would suggest that instead of insisting that Soga experienced double consciousness it would be better to think of Soga as a proto-Black Consciousness intellectual in the vein of twentieth century thinkers. It is worth noting that whilst Gilroy calls Blyden, Crummell and others, 'progenitor[s] of black nationalism' (Gilroy 1993: 58), these men were nonetheless vehement and determined. Their theories about racism were not nascent as in newly-born: '*progenitor*' here refers not to the ideas, but the men, specifically to the fact that in Gilroy's experience, these men were early black consciousness thinkers, the first ones. They achieved massive milestones. These men argued successfully for the colonization of Africa by freed people and invented countries such as Liberia and Freetown for manumitted slaves to return to. As I will discuss in Chapter Three:

*'Transculturation In Deed'*, it is my contention that these gentlemen had met Soga and knew him.

### Chapter Three: Transculturation In Deed

‘Poor sons of Ham, when shall the day dawn and the shadows as to them flee away?  
When shall Ethiopia stretch out her hands to God?’  
Bennie, Glasgow Missionary Society Winter Quarterly Intelligence [XV] of 1843: 7 in De  
Kock 1992: 11

The most recent critical figuration of Soga is in Attwell’s celebration of Soga as an avatar of transculturation, ‘The Transculturation of Enlightenment: The *Journal* of Tiyo Soga’ (2005: 27 - 50). That Soga and/or his journal should be implicated in any agential way in the cultural dénouement of the Enlightenment is a radical departure from the conventional depiction of Soga as an enigma, almost the prototype of Voltaire’s *Ingénu*, a member of the nineteenth century African elite who visited Europe extensively yet proved unable to cope with the simultaneous and incongruent demands of two cultures (Williams 1978: xvi, 1983: 10). Yet while Samuelson argues that Attwell has entered the term ‘transculturation’ into the South African lexicon (2006: 638) it is a very recent adoption, and the term is still not widely used or understood. I suggest that Attwell is introducing it specifically to break away from the discourses of post-colonialism in the post-apartheid South African era, because the discourses have come to connote cultural inertia, if not retrogression, where ‘transculturation’ connotes movement, culture, the development of full-flavoured and multi-ingredient responses. I shall begin this chapter with a detailed explanation of the theoretical term ‘transculturation’ and its history, and present a full discussion of the ramifications of this term and its critical history with an assessment of the validity of the term for the South African context and for the ways in which we read Soga, his work and his life.

The term ‘transculturation’ was coined by the Cuban sociologist Fernando Ortiz in an essay published twice in 1940, first as “‘Del Fenomeno social de la ‘transculturación’ y de su importancia en Cuba” in Revista Bimestre Cubana’ and later that year in *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el asufo* (Firmat 1989: 160, Note 13). Ortiz wanted to replace the term ‘acculturation’ to describe the three-phase process he perceived as occurring when members of cultures meet and continue to engage with each other, as he explained more recently, in 1995:

With the reader’s permission [...] I [...] take the liberty of employing for the first time the term *transculturation* [...] as a substitute for the term *acculturation*, whose use is now spreading. *Acculturation* is used to describe the process of transition from one culture to another, and its manifold social repercussions. But *transculturation* is a more fitting term.

Ortiz 1995: 97 - 98



Ortiz continues:

I am of the opinion that the word *transculturation* better expresses the different phases of the process of transition from one culture to another because this does not consist merely in acquiring another culture, which is what the English word *acculturation* really implies, but the process also necessarily involves the loss or uprooting of a previous culture, which could be defined as a deculturation. In addition it carries the idea of the consequent creation of new cultural phenomena, which could be called neoculturation. In the end, as the school of Malinowski's followers maintains, the result of every union of cultures is similar to that of the reproductive process between individuals: the offspring always has something of both parents but is always different from each of them.

1995: 103

The phases of the process of the term 'transculturation' are set out clearly and thoroughly here. But those who are to be agents of transculturation, the transculturators, are more difficult to describe. 'The questions [concerning] by whom and when transculturation was introduced into literary studies obviously are the subject of some literary debate,' notes Fitz (2001: 36), and continues:

Pratt mentions the Uruguayan critic Angel Rama as responsible for incorporating transculturation into the field in the 1970s, (cf. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* 228 n4). Francoise Lionnet considers the Cuban poet Nancy Morejón to be the one to integrate transculturation into literary studies in the 1980s (cf. Lionnet 12, n21).

2001: 36; footnote 50.

Transculturation is achieving significant valence with theorists from countries which post-colonial theorists call 'Second World' (Slemon 2006: 102 - 107) such as South Africa (Attwell 1995, 2005) and Canada (Cheadle and Pelletier 2007, Fitz 2001, Bradford 2010 and forthcoming), who explore the polyvalent capacities which the term allows for contemporary analysis of multiracial and multicultural interactions in literature derived in these countries. Theorists from the metropolis who self-consciously strive to diversify hegemonic culture (Birkle 2005) or discuss the cross-cultural impact of global trade (Brook 2008) also find the term useful. Pratt's (1992) work with transculturation has been so influential that this field of study has mistakenly been attributed to her (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2002: 208) and scholars such as Attwell (2005: 17) have adapted the term from her work. Pratt explains her understanding of the derivation of the term 'transculturation' in a very brief note to *Imperial Eyes*:

Ortiz proposed the term to replace the paired concepts of acculturation and deculturation that described the transference of culture in reductive fashion imagined from within the interests of the metropolis.

1992: 244 - 5 Note 4

The most striking issue arising in relation to this elusive definition is the interest Pratt asserts that Ortiz expresses not simply in the ‘interests of the metropolis’ but with those interests as ‘imagined from within’ that sphere, which raises the question of whether a person from within or without the metropolis may transculturate. Alonso expresses this question most succinctly:

Ever since the coining of the term by Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz in the 1940s, all of the various acceptations of transculturation have presupposed from the start a detachment from an original that is measured in the distinct peculiarities that result from its appropriation and subsequent rendition of it by the colonial subject [...] Ortiz may have intended – as Mary Louise Pratt has argued – “to replace the paired concepts of acculturation and deculturation that describe the transference of culture in a reductive fashion imagined within the interests of the metropolis.” [Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 228, Note 4.] But as Pratt’s quotation clearly implies, advocates of transculturation endeavor to change the perspective on the cultural exchange process between the metropolis and the periphery by proposing to look at it from the optic of the subordinate cultural party instead. Nonetheless, this exercise always leaves intact the avowed original in order to then describe its decomposition, reshaping, reincorporation, or cannibalization into a novel cultural object produced by the colonial “savage” mind.

Alonso 1998: 27 - 28

Ortiz constitutes a perfect example of a transculturator himself (Firmat 1989: 21): what ‘makes his work doubly significant [is that] as the theorist of transculturation, he gives us an “autochthonous” concept with which to discuss the problem of autochthony; as its practitioner, he illustrates some ways in which the concept operates.’ Moreover because Ortiz ‘substitutes transculturation for acculturation, [he] replaces a foreign term with a “native” one, and by implication calls into question the authority of Anglo-American anthropology,’ (Firmat 1989: 26). The study of Soga as a transculturator therefore ought to prioritise the extent to which Soga impacted on European and British culture. The right and ability of colonised peoples to impact on culture in this way is the subject of much post-colonial theory, especially when it concerns the period during colonial occupation when the process of subordination of colonised people was most virulent.

Attwell first used the term transculturation in relation to Soga in his 1995 chapter, ‘The Transculturation of Enlightenment: The Exemplary Case of Rev Tiyo Soga, African Nationalist’ (Denis (Ed): 41 - 57), citing Pratt’s definition of transculturation as a process in which ‘subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture,’ (Pratt 1992: 6 in Attwell 1995: 43) as the definition of transculturation.<sup>42</sup> In his paper, Attwell asserts that both Soga’s translation of The Pilgrim’s Progress and the ‘unnamed

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<sup>42</sup> Attwell (2005: 17) also attributes this definition to Bartolovich (2002). I am unable to find this quotation in Bartolovich (2002) but it definitely is in Pratt (1992: 7).

Xhosa fighter' who took this English text with a personalised inscription from Lovedale College into the Battle of Quanti where he was killed comprised examples of 'transculturation' (41) because these two men 'reversed *Pilgrim's Progress*' and thus had both 'recast European forms in their own terms,' [Jean and John Comaroff, 1991: 235 in Attwell: 43]. Attwell seems to have identified as evidence of transculturation Soga's selection of The Pilgrim's Progress for translation into Xhosa from all other texts to which he was exposed as a scholar within the British education system, with its broad focus on the classics, if we take 'translation' to constitute a form of 'invention'. Similarly the selection of the text as battle partner for this soldier might constitute evidence of transculturation because it shows the extent to which Xhosa people accepted 'British' culture,<sup>43</sup> although Attwell (1995: 42) refutes the possibility of this soldier's actual literacy in English, choosing instead to continue the debate about the efficacy of teaching English to Xhosa students which began when the dead soldier's possession of the text was discovered (41 - 43). Attwell asks whether the soldier took the text into battle because he hoped

that if the British could protect the rival Mfengu with firepower, perhaps British cultural symbolism might protect him? Perhaps he sought to appropriate British power by bearing on his person some of the magic it wielded through the Word?

1995: 42

It appears that for Attwell, transculturation has occurred through the soldier's appreciation of the poignancy of the message of The Pilgrim's Progress, as his possession of the text at his death provides an example of the idea that 'the consciousness of the colonizer and colonized is fashioned and refashioned through generations of interaction,' (1995: 43). Yet whether this answers to 'acculturation' is not a foregone conclusion, and neither of the second two phases of transculturation, namely de- and neoculturation, is examined or substantiated. Whilst Soga had translated The Pilgrim's Progress into Xhosa and clearly enjoyed the text himself, a persuasive association of Soga with transculturation requires evidence of his own impact and influence on British and Scottish culture over and above the evidence of his acculturation to Britishness or 'Scottishness' more specifically, found in his education, his literacy in English, his use of newspapers as a medium of social voice, his religion, his professional qualifications and friendship circle. Moreover, Bunyan's status as a political dissident and the fact that 'sections of the work were written in prison' cannot be underestimated: 'the book addresses itself to questions of social

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<sup>43</sup> In 1866, the year in which Uhambo Lomhambi was published in Xhosa as well as the year in which Britain annexed Kaffraria and the Xhosa people became British subjects, the question of whether the culture which transmitted that text was 'dominant' or 'metropolitan' is not as clear as it was in 1876, when the British already had been rulers for a decade, for the young soldier who carried the text into battle five years after Soga's death.

and religious inequality and [...] takes up the cause of the weak against the strong,' (Hofmeyr 2004: 1). Indeed within this vignette, the selection of The Pilgrim's Progress as signally important by these two men need not necessarily reflect acculturation, deculturation or neoculturation, but rather an engagement with literature as a form of resistance and empowerment which may have enabled a deliberative tradition which justified war against the British as well as a moral imperative to do what is right in the eyes of the Christian God.

The problem of identifying exactly how transculturation occurs is explored by Pratt, as she explains:

In the context of this book, the concept of transculturation serves to raise several sets of questions. What do people on the receiving end of empire do with metropolitan modes of representation? How do they appropriate them? How do they talk back? What materials can one study to answer those questions?

Pratt: 1992: 5

In his more recent chapter exploring the relationship between transculturation and Soga, (Attwell 2005: 27 - 50) Attwell delves more thoroughly into the pertinence of the term to Soga as well as its relevance for the South African situation, and provides a range of meanings for and examples of transculturation. First, Attwell argues that Ortiz defined transculturation as 'the problem of disadjustment and readjustment, of deculturation and acculturations' (Ortiz 1995: 98 in Attwell 2005: 29) and critiques Pratt's use of the term:

Transculturation goes further than the weaker concept of cultural translation, which would be the translation of material from one culture into the terms of another. [...] Ortiz intended transculturation as a general description of the historical condition of Cuba throughout history.

Attwell 2005: 18

Attwell quotes Ortiz as saying, 'The real history of Cuba is the history of its intermeshed transculturations,' (Ortiz 1995: 98 in Attwell 2005: 18) thereby connoting transculturation as a historical term describing successive impositions upon and interactions of peoples of different nationalities in the same locale over a historical epoch, but here functioning as a synonym for colonisation. Attwell explains that the term transculturation does not match the South African context because the peoples in the South African context were mainly stable inhabitants of the area, and, 'autochthon[y] is not as strained a concept' (Attwell 2005: 19) as in Cuba, where, 'being a foreigner is a common condition,' (Attwell 2005: 19) because multiple 'exogenous' (Ortiz 1995: 100) peoples arrived successively in that country:

This is one of the strange social features of Cuba, that since the sixteenth century all its classes, races, and cultures, coming in by will or by force, have all been exogenous and

have all been torn from their places of origin, suffering the shock of this first uprooting and a harsh transplanting.

Ortiz 1995: 100

Soga is not a citizen of a population historically equivalent to those who participated in transculturation in Cuba. Ortiz is not concerned in his theory of transculturation with the ‘inhabitants of preconquest Mexico’ (Rama 1996: 19) but with those who followed their extinction, yet the Xhosa people, along with the Gonaqua and !Xam peoples, are autochthonous inhabitants of preconquest south eastern Africa.<sup>44</sup> In “Los factores humanos de la cubanidad” (La Habana: Revista Bimestre Cubana, XLV, 1940: 165 - 69), a paper also published in 1940 (Firmat 1989: 24), Ortiz also explained transculturation as ‘*ajiaco*’, a ‘stew of Amerindian origin,’ carefully delineating the impact of multiple groups who interacted:

[Ortiz] justifies the metaphor in a number of ways. First, since the *ajiaco* is made by combining a variety of meats and vegetables (whichever ones happen to be available), it conveys the ethnic diversity of Cuba. Second, the *ajiaco* is agglutinative but not synthetic; even if the diverse ingredients form part of a new culinary entity, they do not lose their original flavour and identity. So it is with Cuba, where the mixture of cultures has not led to a neocultural synthesis, where each ethnic or cultural component has retained its identity. Third, an *ajiaco* is indefinitely replenish-able [sic] since new ingredients can be added to the stew as old ones are used up. In this respect, this dish symbolizes the continuing infusion of new elements into the Cuban cultural mix, those “continuous transmigrations” that he mentioned in the other essay. Lastly, *ajiaco* is itself an onomastic *ajiaco*, since it combines the African name of an Amerindian condiment, the *aji* or green pepper, with a Spanish suffix, *-aco*.

As an edible emblem of cubanidad, the *ajiaco criollo* gives concrete shape to the abstract notion of transculturación. “Transculturation” is the theoretical name; “ajiaco” is the corresponding image.

Firmat 1989: 24

Soga was not a foreigner in the Eastern Cape, even if that land had been invaded, colonised, renamed and delineated with borders in a ‘textured’ and ‘aggressive’ modernity (Attwell 2005: 19 – 20). He was a foreigner in Britain, but the question of transculturation does not extend to the experiences of those from the colonies travelling to the metropolis. Ortiz’s theory of transculturation does not accommodate Cubans who travel abroad but those who remain in Cuba. Samuelson (2006: 638) concludes that Attwell has ‘enter[ed] Ortiz’s term into the South African cultural lexicon,’ but she continues, ‘[m]aking the fit into the local context, as Attwell acknowledges, is not an easy one.’ Indeed, in the southern African context there was even an extant

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<sup>44</sup> The ominous ring in Rama’s tally rings true for the South African context too: ‘At century’s end, Mendieta found only a million remaining of the estimated ten to twenty-five million inhabitants of preconquest Mexico,’ (Rama 1996: 19).

cultural ‘letter’ with which cultural metaphor Soga was inextricably involved. However the Cuban anthropologist Manuel Moreno Fraginals points out in his discussion of the experience of Africans brought to the Americas as slaves, described by Alonso (1998: 186) as ‘the best critique of the use of the concept of transculturación in the Latin American context,’<sup>45</sup> the fact that all the players are newcomers and foreigners in the Cuban context defines the script as a *tabula rasa* in which all inscriptions are new:

In my view, we cannot arrive at the root of this problem if we take as our point of departure the anthropological paradigm that regards transculturation as a phenomenon of clash and synthesis between a group of immigrants that are inserted into a society of European cultural traits. The reality of what one could imprecisely call the “black zones of the Caribbean,” is completely other. From their beginnings these are new societies to which Africans and Europeans arrived simultaneously: the first as vanquished peoples in a capitalist war of spoils, and the latter as the exploiting group. Hence there is no preexisting, European-based society that is then inflected with African contributions. Therefore, it is a useless methodology to engage in the search of africanisms [sic] to determine quantitatively how many of them found their way into official molds. (translation of page 31).

Alonso 1998: 186

In Soga’s context, traditional Xhosa culture had not been dislocated and dislodged, even if Soga saw how this might take place and was concerned to document and safeguard that cultural metaphor through his column ‘*Zivela Kubabalelani*’ in *Indaba* (Williams 1983: 150 - 177). This represents an important facet of the pertinence of the label of transculturator to Soga as there is very little evidence that he took part in deculturation, particularly a deculturation involving a profound or even violent sense of loss. Whilst Soga reports his anger with the *abekwetha* (initiates) who disturbed the peace at night (Williams 1978: 19) he does not in and of itself show a deculturation, especially given that this short-tempered response is a strain of his personality as a young man at Lovedale (Williams 1978: 12). The argument that Soga did not take part in a circumcision ceremony and, by proxy, that this is an example of deculturation which caused his struggles with the Xhosa community later in life has no archival evidence, and the violence against Soga as a teacher and as a minister in the 1860s has never been shown to be definitively allied to questions of circumcision,<sup>46</sup> nor is there evidence of his continued marginalisation by the Xhosa community, as I shall argue in Chapter Five: *The Audacity of Veracity*. I would like to suggest that the continued relegation of Soga’s identity

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<sup>45</sup> Fraginals, 1987 “Aportes culturales y deculturación,” in *Africa en America er, Latina*, (Ed. Manuel Mareno Fraginals, Mexico City: Siglo XXI, 13 - 33) and translated by Alonso (1998: 186).

<sup>46</sup> The struggles with which Soga contended conceivably had more to do with the impending border wars and difficulties which broke out in 1851.

and reception by the Xhosa people to his status as circumcised is akin to racist approbations of his identity.

In Soga's context, it seems pertinent to remember that the clicks in Xhosa are signs of the transculturation between the Xhosa and the !Xam peoples (J.H. Soga 1930: 95 - 97, Holden, 1866: 357). This bears directly upon Soga because it shows that his culture was accustomed to cultural exchange.

What characterizes transculturation (transculturación), as Nancy Morejón concludes, is the emphasis that "reciprocal influence is the determining factor here, for no single element superimposes itself on another; on the contrary, each one changes into the other so that both can be transformed."

Morejón, Nacion y mestizaje; quoted in Lionnet 11 -12 cited in Fitz 2001: 36.

Birkle (2004: 297) states that transculturators are particularly women and ethnic people who expand culture to include the worldviews of those traditionally excluded from the annals of power and cultural precedence, thereby creating a multicultural and inclusionary [sic] version of culture (2004: 298), and Fitz insists that transculturation includes the agency of peoples precluded from the mainstay of canon-making:

[...] the strategy of transculturation as it is employed by Native Writers does not simply suggest a one-way directionality of cultural exchange. [...] Marie [sic] Louise Pratt points to moments of transculturation in early European travel writing on southern Africa which clearly go both ways (15 - 37). In the American context, Donald A. Grinde and Bruce E. Johansen have provided an important study - *Exemplar of Liberty: Native America and the Evolution of Democracy* (1991) that explores "the impact of Native Americans on the stream of ideas that shaped American democratic thought" xiii. Needless to say, however, much research still remains to be done on this phenomenon.

2001: 3 Note 4

But for Attwell, transculturation remains about subjugation. Although Attwell cites Parry (2004) in stressing that 'no-where does the theory of transculturation, as defined by Ortiz, suggest that it occurs in an equal or reciprocal exchange of cultures' (2005: 20), he nonetheless poses the pivotal question of how Soga was the embodiment of transculturation, how he attempted to create something new:

[...] Soga embraced the civilising mission but sought to establish a new point of departure within it, one that placed an African consciousness and identity within the larger framework of modern history.

Was Soga successful? How do we measure this?

2005: 47 - 48

Parry recognises that 'integral to this revisionist endeavour is the re-presentation of colonialism as

transactional, a move that displaces the received perception of conflict with the 'in-between' space of negotiation' (2004: 8), but she disputes that even in the event of transculturation occurring, the centre would accept as knowledge information derived within the peripheries:

The inequality and constraints in the exchanges of colonial encounters emerges from Mary Louise Pratt's deployment of the notion of 'transculturation' as a 'phenomenon of the contact zone', a process where 'subordinated or marginalized groups select or invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture, determining 'to varying extents what they absorb into their own, and what they use it for.' But when Pratt asks 'another perhaps more heretical' question, 'how does one speak of transculturation from the colonies to the metropolis', what she is able to offer suggests a greatly attenuated, indeed a solipsistic notion of 'transculturation', since the only instance she cites is 'the latter's obsessive need to present and represent its peripheries and its others to itself.' Thus whereas the peripheries can readily be shown to have appropriated and redeployed materials from the centre, what emerges is that the centre was unable to recognize the materials from the periphery as constituting Knowledge.

Parry 2004: 8 - 9

Attwell advances the notion that transculturation encompasses a Phoenix-like capacity for cultural reconstruction following destruction and rejuvenation as it 'suggests multiple processes, a dialogue in both directions and, most importantly, processes of cultural destruction followed by reconstruction in entirely new terms,' (2005: 18) which resembles the definition of Ortiz given by Pratt. However, this 'dialogue in both directions' is not necessarily verbal, and raises once again questions about the agency in transculturation. Attwell prefers to employ the term 'transculturation' as equivalent to the experience of extreme acculturation or deculturation, called subjugation, which comprises 'the country's 'long history of symbolic struggle'' (30); he even states that, 'Violence itself could be a mode of transculturation' (20). The transformative power of violence is disabling, producing a warped reactive rather than spontaneous population, operating on fear and anticipation rather than excitement about possibility. Further, instead of focusing on any of the three phases in the process of transculturation, the term is used to define a protest literature which documents the effects of the debilitating historical process:

I am also conscious of the scholarship that has already gone into such a project, in *Women Writing Africa: The Southern Region* (Daymond, et al, 2003), where the distinctiveness of women's experience under colonialism in southern Africa and of feminine discourses in contexts of transculturation have been documented and discussed.

Attwell 2005: 23

Attwell's reference to the transculturation of 'black print culture' also seems to incorporate its documentation of the debilitating historical process of colonialism which resulted in the censorious and deleterious effect of the mission presses on (in this case) Xhosa literary output, in terms of



quantity as well as content, which clearly amounts to the subjugation of black writing, culture, politics and philosophy by the Scottish and English clergymen who ran the printing presses, and against which Soga fought throughout his life. The archive refers to a violence perpetrated against the whole body of black literature in this way.

However, the transculturators remain victims of colonialism with none of the autonomy and authority which Pratt and Firmat so esteem. This serves to remove the meaning even further from Ortiz's definition of the term, for here the subjects of transculturation are those without the metropolis, even who reject the metropolis. These people are not agents, but subjects of imposed rule; they are passive recipients of an imposing regime, they do not engage in a depiction of that regime of their own volition. At stake here is whether the participants in transculturation are willing or unwilling, whether transculturation takes place under duress and in conditions of inherent disempowerment. The question of whether participation in transculturation is voluntary or enforced is important not least because when acculturation and deculturation are related repeatedly to a question of force, as in Attwell's reading, deculturation becomes an inurement to violence, and the possibility of neoculturation becomes very remote. Strikingly, Birkle (2004: 253) also conceptualises transculturation as a literary trope employed by women and 'ethnic' people who seek to document their lived and practical experience of subjugation as well as transform society and social norms by revealing the abuse. Birkle argues however that this literature stresses not the violence itself but the nuanced and complex challenges to that abuse which constitute a counter-hegemonic deviation from the obeisance posited as the fate of subordinate citizens normally precluded from the canon on account of their race and culture not being that of the white patriarchal colonial centre.

Transculturation generally is a slow process of integration and differentiation which constantly has to be pushed forward. At the time, ethnic and women writers were the major driving forces in this process. Their stories became the vehicles with which they promoted this process. In addition to writers and their stories as agents of transculturation, they also created characters who could unmask monoculturalism in a realistic and credible way so that readers could identify with both the characters and their actions.

Birkle 2004: 297

This stress on the incessant repetitiveness of enforced deculturation is so great that it reinforces the dislocation and degradation, and in itself becomes complicit in continued disempowerment, further precluding any opportunity for neoculturation, permitting rather a people always trying to 'reculturate', if I may coin that term; to redeem and reclaim, revalidate and safeguard a culture in the

face of continued subjugation, denigration and insult by the British particularly, and Europeans generally, with its attendant risks of stressing authority, authenticity, exclusivity and an immobile fixation on the past, as Gilroy (1993) identifies, as does De Kock, and even Attwell, when he notes that one of the repercussions of transculturation is that both participants became overly concerned with clinging to order (2005). This begins to sound like early pan-Africanism, and indeed, Attwell makes the link between transculturation and Black Consciousness. In addition to cultural reconstruction, and a subordinating effect through violent means and a clinging to order, Attwell includes as one of the consequences of transculturation that ‘the [South African] Black Consciousness (BC) movement developed such strong ties with diasporic ideas of racial identity’ (2005: 20). He does not explain which diasporic ideas, nor which era he refers to. But Attwell also shows Soga’s links with ‘Africans’ globally, as he feels that Soga is a transculturator: at least in terms of being on the receiving end of knowledge.

In Soga’s hands, even the unpromising theory of the curse of Ham is used to imagine the full participation of Africans in modern history. Soga resisted the nineteenth century’s decline into instrumentalism and racism, and although the task might have been too great for him in the end, we are able now to read his life as helping to instantiate a tradition of nationalism in which the European version of reason is made to confront racial difference, its irrational doppelgänger.

2005: 50

A further prevalent meaning of transculturation incorporated in Attwell’s 2005 text Rewriting Modernity indicates a rewriting of a previous text, similar to the notion of intertextuality or *Signifyin’* which comprises a retelling of a colonial narrative through appropriation and subversion to achieve a different purpose and tell a different story (Fitz 2001: 6); this interpretation is rendered more closely in relation to Soga by De Kock in his Civilising Barbarians: Subversive Subservience (1996) than by Attwell himself. De Kock states that he has ‘found it invigorating to look at the ways in which people who have been institutionally colonised (such as pupils or former pupils who have willingly gone through the rigours of a Lovedale education) nevertheless subvert from within the terms by which their identity is supposedly defined, in a manner which is strikingly similar to deconstructive practice (Chapter 4)’ (1996: 17). He calls it after Jay (1992: 56; 64 - 71) a ‘double gesture’ in which ‘one inhabits a vocabulary in order to render it problematic’ (1996: 18). De Kock also describes the colonised powers as ‘agonistic’ following Foucault (1996: 20). The most contemporary, and in my view extreme, form of this intertextual discursive subversion is identified in Zamora and Kaup’s citing of De Campos’s ‘‘cannibal reason’ in which the savage literature eats its more powerful enemies, the colonial body in order to increase its strength through theirs,’ (2010: 317), and which

...begins as a decolonizing strategy for New World writers and then becomes a “planetary redevoration.” If, for Andrade, Brazilian writers “fed upon” European metropolitan texts and traditions to create their own, for de Campos, all writers must now do the same. Thus De Campos recannibalizes his precursor, transforming Andrade’s metaphor into a Neobaroque banquet of “digestive rumbles,” “carousing ancestral ruminations” and “cultural mastication” to show that “to write means, more and more, to rewrite, to re-chew.”

Zamora and Kaup 2010: 317

It would seem that the critical theory in this field remains more enthusiastic about finding cannibals and savages than cross-cultural connections in that counterculture to modernity identified so keenly by Gilroy (1993).

Soga however did not engage in literary revisions of British canonical texts of this kind. Although I have argued in Chapter Two: *Reading Soga (1)* that his use of the underscore permits a potential rereading of fore- and backgrounded information within Soga’s writing, it is unlikely that this was a specifically politically motivated reworking of punctuation in English. Soga coined no new words in English, nor did he rework any literary form, as did Nicolás Guillén with the sonnet, for example (Firmat 1989: 67 – 79). Soga translated the Bible and the first part of The Pilgrim’s Progress, but he did not rework either, as did Ndawo in his 1909 rewriting of The Pilgrim’s Progress, Uhambo lukaGqoboka, which, as Gérard notes,

tells the story of an African’s indomitable struggle to give up heathenism and embrace the Christian faith. The book clearly exemplifies the influence of Pilgrim’s Progress. It purports to describe allegorically the evolution of an African from heathenism to Christianity, but, as Vilakazi observed, Ndawo was unable to master the allegorical technique of Bunyan.

1971: 63

Whilst Soga did not co-opt, transform or disabuse colonial texts as vehicles for subversion of the colonial voice and power, Bradford (2010) has shown that Soga is aligned to Alexander Crummel and Edward Blyden in their shared and possibly rewritten use of the question, ‘When will Ethiopia spread out her arms to Jesus?’ as a grounding statement for their discourses on race, advancing the then-prevalent notion of ‘Africa as God-given to Ham’ (Soga in Williams 1983: 180 - 181). Bradford questions whether these three men would have had access to each other’s writings:

Although there is no evidence that Soga read Blyden or heard of Crummell’s pamphlet, he may well have been aware, through mission publications, of their existence. Certainly he was aware of the popular passage from Psalm 68 vs 52.

2010: 324

Bradford notes in the corresponding footnote:

Scottish missions used this passage throughout the nineteenth century to predict the evangelisation of the African continent. See, *MRUPC*, June 1850, 81.

2010: 324 Note 52

As the opening citation of this chapter shows, Bennie used the quote for the same purposes as early as 1843 (GMS Winter Quarterly Intelligence (XV) in De Kock 1992: 11). Gilroy also records Delany's use of the quotation as the 'closing passage of [his] first book, *The Consideration, Elevation, Emigration and Destiny of the Colored Pople of the United States Politically Considered* (1852)':

Though its assertive Christianity strikes a somewhat discordant note, the work ends movingly with a recognisably pan-African flourish that places the forces of science, Enlightenment, and progress in concert with the project of racial regeneration in the period after slavery:

"Princes shall come forth out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God" PS lxxviii.31. With faith in this blessed promise, thank God; in this our grand advent into Africa, we want "No kettle drums nor flageolets, Bag pipes, trombones, nor bayonets" but with an abiding trust in God our heavenly king, as shall boldly advance, singing sweet songs of redemption, in the regeneration of our race and restoration of our father-land from the gloom and darkness of our superstition and ignorance, to the glorious light of a more pristine brightness – the light of the highest godly civilization.

Gilroy 1993: 20

Gates insists:

To a remarkable extent, black writers have created works that express a broad "concord of sensibilities" shared by persons of African descent in the Western Hemisphere [...]. Indeed the texts of the Afro-American literary tradition share patterns and details of striking similarity. But why? Has a common experience—or, more accurately, a shared perception of a common experience—been responsible for the sharing of this text of blackness? It would be foolish to say no. But shared modes of figuration only result when writers read each other's texts and seize upon themes and figures to revise in their own texts. This form of revision grounds each individual work in a larger context, and creates formal lines of continuity between the texts that together constitute the shared text of blackness.

1998: 1 - 2

A further 'shared mode of figuration' amongst these nineteenth century African and African American intellectuals, is Blyden's reference to black people as 'a race down-trodden and despised' (Blyden 1978: 28) whilst Soga states in his speech to the Young Men's Christian Association that he 'cannot comprehend how, according to the law of natural progress, [my poor countrymen in Kaffraria] with other degraded despised dark races of this vast continent should have been left so far behind in civilization and Christian enlightenment' (Williams 1983: 192). The significance of the fact that both Blyden and Soga use virtually identical adjectives, and that they portray those

stereotypes as functions of white supremacist logic rather than locating them as inherent in any way in black people themselves, cannot be underestimated. Gates (in Gates, Ed, 1998: 3) states that these ‘writers of the Anglo-African tradition were self-conscious readers of each other’s texts’ (Gates, Ed, 1998: 3). De Kock notes ‘Soga’s reference to his ‘poor countrymen of Kaffraria’ as ‘degraded and despised’, viewed in relation to his letter to *Indaba* in which he addressed his ‘countrymen’ with far greater circumspection, suggests how constrained he was to use the predictable language of ‘degraded, despised dark races’ when his audience seemed to demand it’ (1996(b): 184), and his estimation of Soga’s audience-centred approach to his writing is invaluable, especially because he specifies Soga’s ability to use a metaphor which appeals to a white, colonial audience. However Soga’s audience was not only a white audience, he also was speaking to an international abolitionist audience, and a Xhosa African audience. To have print space for an entire speech – or two – in a lifetime is no mean feat, one which I doubt many African and African American intellectuals can claim to have accomplished, even if the failure to include these thinkers is a sign of racist media rather than the capacity of a person.

Of course, this would necessitate an understanding that trans-Atlantic transculturation had occurred between Soga and these other ‘modern black thinkers,’ ‘candidates for the role of progenitor of black nationalism – Martin Delany, Edward Blyden, and Alexander Crummell,’ (Gilroy 1993: 58). Williams asserts that his study of Soga’s work has revealed links between these men, although he says ‘[i]ndependently of West African thought, [Soga] conjured up some of its essential ingredients and added his own unique contribution,’ (1978: 101). Williams notes first in 1978 that, ‘Together with giants such as James Africanus Horton, Bishop James ‘Holy’ Johnson, and Edward Wilmot Blyden of West Africa, Tiyo Soga stands in the forefront of the development of Black consciousness on the African continent during the nineteenth century’ (xix) and again in 1983 that Soga was ‘the first to formulate a philosophy of Black consciousness and even negritude [and] the contemporary and equal of the giants of West Africa: James Africanus Horton, Edward Wilmot Blyden and James Johnson,’ (1). This suggests that Soga, while being ‘the first,’ was producing these meanings in concert with other black thinkers across the world, and not in isolation.

In fact, Gates refers to these ‘shared modes of signification’ as ‘signifyin(g)’, a metaphor of double-voicedness operating in black literature. The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of Afro-American Literary Criticism (1988) is an examination of double-voiced metaphor in black literature. It is remarkable that none of the contemporary transculturation theorists is demonstrably familiar with Gates’ work, even though the authors whom these theorists examine, especially Fitz (2001: 38), are

black people who pointedly stressed this double-voicedness to tell ‘another’ letter, another story from their perspective as black people. Gates explains in 1984:

...in the case of the writer of African descent, her or his texts occupy spaces in at least two traditions: a European or American literary tradition, and one of the several related but distinct black traditions. The ‘heritage’ of each black text written in a Western language is, then, a double heritage, two-toned, as it were. Its visual tones are white and black, and its aural tones are standard and vernacular.

Gates, in Gates (Ed) 1984: 4

Williams recalls the inscription on Soga’s tombstone which reads that Soga was ‘an Ardent patriot,’ and comments:

The latter description recognises his advocacy on behalf of his people, and conceivably, of the Blacks in general. He was the progenitor of Black nationalism in South Africa. His contribution to Black consciousness and negritude have lain quiescent for more than a century. But he always saw himself as a Christian first; from this all else followed.

1983: 7

In 1987 Williams argues explicitly:

In the fifties there was a free-floating belief in the resurrection of the leaders of the Blacks in Caffraria who were fighting the Whites; by the ‘sixties there was an articulated, sensitive exposition of Black consciousness, in the tradition of James Africanus Horton, Edward Wilmot Blyden and Bishop James Johnson in 19<sup>th</sup> Century West Africa.

1987: 56

Gilroy explains that Europe is a missing leg of a triangle across the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in the historical study of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (1993: 15 - 41). One critique of Gilroy’s work concerns his under-privileging of Africa within his analysis of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (Zezeza 2005; Chrisman 2001).<sup>47</sup> Indeed, the study of Soga and his relationship with America, and specifically with African-Americans, has been omitted from an accurate historiography of his life. The analysis of Soga’s transculturation has always centred on the impact of the English on Soga, and has not looked further afield to America; whilst it may be true that Soga did not travel to America himself,<sup>48</sup> when Soga arrived in Scotland in 1846 and again in 1851, America had

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<sup>47</sup> Zezeza (2005) is particularly scathing and equally illuminating in an astounding and beautiful work on the importance of Africa within the discussion of the counterculture of modernity and the Americocentricity of Gilroy’s work.

<sup>48</sup> We have no record of Soga’s journey to America, and indeed given the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, in which any black person could be summarily accused of being an escaped slave and tried for the charge anywhere in America, it would probably have been unwise to send him there. Yet it was only a ten-day journey from Glasgow, as Henry Highland Garnet recounts (Pasternak 1995: 67).

seemingly transposed itself onto the Scottish landscape as Scotland was embroiled in an antislavery debate which concerned a very self-conscious investigation by the church into its complicity in slavery through the receipts of donations from slave-holders. The ‘Send back the money’ campaign was part of a broader antislavery campaign devised by the Free Produce Society which had a groundswell of public popularity, with speakers appearing before crowds of two thousand at a time (Schor 1977: 120), conflating the religious, political and economic discourses and domains by proposing to recall all ecumenical monies sent by American churches whose clergymen held slaves or openly tolerated slavery and/or admitted congregants who owned slaves and/or disallowed ministers from preaching within black and slave communities.<sup>49</sup> The United Presbyterian Church – at the time only two years old - was particularly vehement in its revulsion over the acceptance of such funds, and the Rev. William Anderson, the Glaswegian minister who baptised Soga and after whom Soga named his first son, was the most extraordinarily outspoken proponent of black autonomy (Soga in Bradford 2010: 338 - 340). Bradford has recovered a letter written by Soga to Anderson proves that Soga was conscientised about the plight of African-Americans in America by the United Presbyterian Church and specifically by Anderson. Soga writes:

It was also natural, from the Doctor’s universal humanity, that he should take up warmly the cause of the oppressed negro in the United States. I am, of course, speaking of what then was—not of what now is. I am dwelling upon the memories of the past, with the impression they have left upon my mind. The sympathy of the Doctor denounced the cruelties of the slave-owner and the slave-dealer. If I had been asked at the time to select my advocates for the cause of negro liberty or emancipation, I should have named Dr. Anderson and Dr. Edmond (then Mr. Edmond). I felt then that the blot of slavery was a reproach to all black men, however freeborn some of them may have been. Hence there was something admirably soothing and comforting in the scathing fire and tormenting sarcasms of the two good men against that accursed system.

In Celebration of the Ministerial Jubilee of the Rev. William Anderson, LL.D: 137 – 43,  
in Bradford 2010: 338.

In addition, Frederick Douglass was also in Glasgow preaching to vast audiences about the true nature of slavery when Soga first arrived there in 1846. ‘In Scotland, the main issue was the decision of the Free Church of Scotland to accept donations it had recently received from Presbyterian churches in the American South, and the cry of ‘send back the money’ dominated [Douglass’s] speeches north of the border,’ (Pettinger 1998: 95). Rice and Crawford concur, noting

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<sup>49</sup> For further information on the relationship between the Presbyterian churches and antislavery campaign, see Report of the Proceedings of the General Assembly on Saturday, May 30, and June 1, 1846 Regarding the Relations of the Free Church of Scotland, and the Presbyterian Churches of America. Revised. Edinburgh and London: John Johnstone, R. Groombridge & Sons. M.DCCC.XLVI. No 17 within the book, and ‘Letter from the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society to the Commissioners of the Free Church of Scotland’

that '[Douglass] took a leading role in the campaign to force the Free Church of Scotland to return monies collected by slaveholding clergy' (Rice and Crawford 1999: 6). Whilst there is no record of Soga and Frederick Douglass ever having crossed paths,<sup>50</sup> Soga would surely have heard of Frederick Douglass's work: 'street urchins shouted the phrase ['Send Back the Money'] to [Frederick Douglass] as he passed them by,' (Rice 2003: 173); Douglass was so celebrated that there were even songs dedicated to his name.

Douglass's name was also prominent in these ballads, showing that despite the presence of other abolitionists at meetings denouncing the church, it was Douglass whose interventions received attention. For instance, another ballad sung to the tune of 'Ballenomororo Oro' encapsulated Douglass's stellar contribution to the debate:

Nae Douglas has blawn sic' a flame  
That we winna hae peace till the siller's sent hame.

Rice 2003: 173

Douglass's plight as a person who had escaped from slavery and who may be recaptured even after this display of sovereignty and autonomy and severely punished, perhaps even executed, was well understood by his audiences and doubtless made a strong impression on Soga as a young man, perhaps even occasioning the haste with which Soga returned to South Africa in June 1848 (*MRUPC* 1848 Aug: 118).<sup>51</sup> It is not unreasonable to suggest that Soga took fright at his expanded knowledge of the systematic degradation of black people across the world and felt the need to report this to his father and Ngqika and Sandile. When Soga returned to Scotland in 1851 he found that the 'Send Back the Money' campaign had not only continued its activities but was actually intensifying. The Revd. Dr. Garnet, a minister in the United Presbyterian Church of America and a fierce antislavery activist who advocated that African-Americans took advantage of the offers made by the American Civilization Society to repatriate to Liberia and who became most famous following his 1843 speech, "An Address To The Slaves Of The United States" at the National Negro Convention, New York, in which he exclaimed: 'Let your motto be resistance! resistance! RESISTANCE! No oppressed people have ever secured their liberty without resistance,'<sup>52</sup> had arrived in 1850 at the invitation of The Free Produce Society (Schor 1977: 111) to continue to

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<sup>50</sup> Unfortunately, Gilroy does not focus on Douglass's time in Scotland, saying only that within his studies for *The Black Atlantic*, 'There is no space [...] to discuss the impact of his travels in England and Scotland even though they help to map the spatial dimensions of the black Atlantic world,' (1993: 58).

<sup>51</sup> 'Learning that the United Presbyterian Church was about to send out the Rev. Mr Brown as a missionary to Caffraria, [Soga's] heart warmed to his country and countrymen, and he expressed a desire to be sent home along with him,' (*MRUPC* 1848 Aug: 118).

<sup>52</sup> <http://www.blackpast.org/?q=1843-henry-highland-garnet-address-slaves-united-states>.



exhort the Scottish public not only to reject funding from the American churches, but furthermore to engage in a boycott of commodities produced by slave labour, particularly cotton and sugar, and others too (Schor 1977: 114, Pasternak 1995: 72).<sup>53</sup> ‘Only when slavery was rendered economically unprofitable, [Garnet] said, would the institution be abolished without internal violence,’ (Schor 1977: 116). Garnet became more vehement in his attempts to outlaw financial profit from slavery and began to denounce ministers as culpable for slavery, although he stopped short of naming individuals (Schor 1977: 119, Note 33). In May of 1851, in London for the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society at Exeter Hall, Garnet stated that ‘without the support of religious institutions slavery could not be kept alive a single day’ (Schor 1977: 123). Garnet spent most of the rest of 1851 in Scotland (Pasternak 1995: 73), giving many speeches during the second part of that year, which Soga would undoubtedly have attended following his return that July:

The fall and winter of 1851 were also months of heavy speaking engagements for Garnet. At five meetings in Glasgow, in addition to large numbers of working people, many of the city’s most privileged citizens attended. In Edinburgh, the Ladies Emancipation Society sponsored two meetings. Garnet also spoke in the surrounding towns of Paisley, Ellensboro, Hamilton, Falkirk, Kirkcaldy, and Dundee. After hearing Garnet speak, the Ladies Emancipation Association of Glasgow, selected the New York Committee of Vigilance as the principal recipient of their funds.

Schor 1969: 124

Garnet found the Scottish people ‘straightforward and independent,’ and deeply concerned with American slavery. The Scots were also churchgoing people who could be counted on to attend religious and benevolent meetings.<sup>54</sup> Every time Garnet spoke in Scotland, he encountered a sincerity and a warmth he had never seen before (*The Illustrated London News Supplement*, 7 September 1850, and *The Antislavery Reporter* 5 (October 1, 1850: 160) in Pasternak 1995: 72).

Like other blacks who had crossed the ocean, Garnet was amazed at the hospitality and friendship of the British people. Samuel Ringgold Ward had told him of this, but Garnet had to judge for himself. He also discovered just how conditions were for blacks in Great Britain. Garnet found that blacks, although not loved, were certainly accepted. Garnet himself freely walked the streets without fear and without insult. Also he could use all forms of public transportation equally with whites.

Pasternak 1995: 66 - 67 Note 1b

Scotland had a reputation for non-racism toward black men who went there during the nineteenth

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<sup>53</sup> For literature on Garnet, see Pasternak (1995), Schor (1977), Asante (2002), Quarles (1969) and Ripley (Ed) (1985).

<sup>54</sup> ‘Garnet made his greatest impact in Scotland in Wales, where the masses were more actively involved in the religious institutions. In England and Ireland, millions of workers did not attend any place of worship and were consequently cut off from the moral movements of the age,’ (Schor 1977: 120 Note 37).

century, as Frederick Douglass wrote to the abolitionist Garrison on his visit there in 1846:

The entire absence of anything that looked like racial prejudice against me on account of the color of my skin – contrasted so strongly with my long and bitter experience in the United States that I look with wonder and amazement at the transition... The truth is, the people here know nothing of the republican negro hate prevalent in our glorious land. They measure and esteem men according to their moral and intellectual worth, and not according to the color of their skin.

Douglass, 1969: 370, as quoted in Alan Rice, 2003: 177.

According to Alan Rice, both Frederick Douglass and Paul Robeson developed a ‘strategic anglophilia,’ and this

deep affection for Britain and especially the British on the Celtic fringes was rewarded by a heroic status which they repaid through romanticized depictions of life in the old country. These might have involved a certain false consciousness and an occasional blindness to British faults; however, crucially, they enabled both Douglass and Robeson to create transatlantic counter-cultures of resistance that helped to radicalize political opinion on both sides of the ocean.

Rice 2003: 187

Blyden wrote to the then British Chancellor of the Exchequer, The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, requesting texts to be sent to him in his personal capacity in order to further his own education (Blyden 1978: 28 - 31); this pattern would continue long into his life, when he regularly undertook fundraising trips to both Britain and America, requesting funds for textbooks, and buildings, particularly the college in Liberia (Blyden 1978). Likewise Soga used the same idiom in his contact with friends and family alike in Scotland, to lesser effect however than Blyden and Crummell, but to the same effect as Garnet, who died in poverty-stricken obscurity in Liberia despite having gone there as the ‘United States Minister and Counsel General to Liberia’ (Pasternak 1995: 152). Gikandi (forthcoming) argues that Blyden and Crummell were trapped by their use of Victorian English, which imprisoned its users within its idioms and grammatical practices and caused the defeat of long term political projects because of its association with Victorian racism and probably that ‘false consciousness’ to which Rice refers. It seems that De Kock’s understanding of the making of an African Englishness is relevant to this debate (1992a, b, c, d and e; 1993 b; 1994a, b and c, and 1996(b)). Yet in a recent address on ‘Englishes’ to an audience at the British Library, Gikandi made the interesting point that the English in which Africans were schooled was predominantly the English of the periphery of England, the Scottish, Irish and Welsh, particularly; and it is true that the English which Soga knew and spoke was Scottish.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> ‘As a preacher, he was eloquent in speech and keen in thought, and talked with a Scottish accent, as strong as if he had been born on the banks of the Clyde, instead of those of the Kei’ (*Cape Argus*

The Revd. Dr. Garnet was especially relevant to Soga because he was connected to Stella Weims, Soga's first fiancée:

During the early days of his student life his affections had gone forth to a young girl of his own colour, named "Stella," who was on a visit to Scotland with her uncle, the Rev. Dr. Garnet, from America; but her life was quickly ended after leaving the Scottish shores. Had she lived to be united to him there was every prospect that she would have proved a most excellent wife.

Chalmers (1877/78: 93), Cousins (1897/99: 59)<sup>56</sup>

In fact Weims was not the niece of Garnet. She was a young American woman who had escaped from slavery and fled to the home of Garnet (Ripley 1985: 327, Schor 1977: 111), who was known to harbour fugitive slaves as part of the Underground Railway: 'One hundred and fifty, in a single year, have lodged under my roof,' he wrote, 'and I have never asked or received a penny for what I gave them, but divided with them my last crust,' ('Life of Charles B. Ray,' from *Weekly Anglo-African*, Sept. 17, 1859 footnote 14, in *Journal of Negro History*, Oct. 1919 (IV), Various (Eds) 2010: 371). There is no clarity on the exact date on which Weims arrived in the United Kingdom. Garnet notes that she had been 'concealed till my family joined me in this country [United Kingdom]...' (*The Anti-Slavery Reporter* (London), 1 December 1852, in Ripley 1985: 329), which intimates that she had been with him the entire time, and the corresponding footnote states:

When Henry Highland Garnet made his first trip to England, he was accompanied by Stella Weims, a young fugitive slave from Washington, D.C. The Garnets eventually adopted Stella, and she lived with them during their stay in Britain.

Ripley 1985: 329

Schor also states that Weims accompanied Garnet when he originally left the United States (1977: 111). However Weims is absolutely invisible in Pasternak's more detailed account of Garnet's arrival in England (1995: 67 - 8). Garnet had also 'served as a delegate to the World Peace Congress which met in [London], although his name was not mentioned in the major newspapers,' (Schor 1977: 124), and the World Peace Conference in 1850 in Frankfurt, Germany, as the official American delegate (Pasternak 1995: 68), however Weims' whereabouts during these trips is not recorded. Whichever date is correct, Garnet's family arrived in the United Kingdom to join him 'during the fall of 1851,' (Ripley 1985: 329 Note 2), at exactly the same time as Soga returned to Glasgow to continue his studies and to become a minister and a missionary within the United Presbyterian Church.

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Obituary, Thursday, August 17, 1871, Private Collection of Carole Gallagher, great great granddaughter of Soga. See Appendix W for the full obituary).

<sup>56</sup> Williams also notes this, but he calls Garnet 'Rev David Garnet' (1978: 26), a mistake which I intuitively attribute to the close resemblance of a handwritten 'Dr' to 'Dv'.

We do not know how Soga and Weims met,<sup>57</sup> although Weims herself became somewhat of a famous person after the freedom of her family had been purchased in a drive to raise money in October 1852.<sup>58</sup> We also have no details of the courtship or their feelings for each other. Their courtship was however short-lived, for Stella had left Glasgow within nine months of meeting Soga: instead of earning the anger of the church for his outspoken implication of ecumenical structures in slavery, ‘Andrew Sommerville (sic), secretary of the Presbyterian Committee on Foreign Missions, noticed Garnet and in October, 1852, nominated him to be the Presbyterian missionary to Jamaica, West Indies,’ (Pasternak 1995: 73). Garnet was ordained by the UPC, a church that, Garnet felt, was ‘without the stains of slavery’ (Pasternak 1995: 73) and with his family and Stella, Garnet left for Jamaica ‘late in the same winter,’ (Schor 1977: 125) which I take to mean January or February 1853. There Weims died in the winter of 1855 of a disease described as ‘bilious fever,’ (Schor 1977: 130). Schor notes:

Perhaps the most important published document bearing Garnet’s name written during his years on the island was his eulogy of Stella Weims who succumbed to fever while living in Jamaica. It was printed in Frederick Douglass Paper, The Voice of the Fugitive, and the Missionary Record [...] it must have produced a wave of sympathy for the bereaved, for those who had raised money in Britain and the United States to purchase freedom for the family, and for the antislavery cause in general.

Schor 1977: 129<sup>59</sup>

The consequences of this relationship for transculturation are important. Soga would have been uniquely placed, with a personal sympathy for Weims’s story as a fugitive woman, to engage in discussions around the newly-implemented Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, and around the concept of free and unfree persons. Soga would also have had direct and individual access to discussions of the various plans for black homelands in the West Indies and Africa which had been advanced by Garnet, Blyden, Delany, and Alexander Crummell, a lifelong friend of the Garnet who saved

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<sup>57</sup> The notebooks which tell this story are not currently in the public domain, but it is conceivable that letters from Soga to and/or from Weims may be held in the archives in Liberia, where Garnet died (Pasternak 1995: 195 - 198) or in the United States.

<sup>58</sup> John Weims struggled to reunite his family by purchasing their liberty. ‘Ray wrote to Garnet seeking assistance for John Weims, a Washington D.C., free black whose family was in slavery. [...] He collected \$600, but in the interval, the family was sold for \$3,300 to a Washington slave trader, who resold two children and held the remainder in local “slave pens” for resale in the deep South. Weims urgently continued to raise funds (...) while Ray organized an American subscription drive... After receiving Ray’s appeal Garnet immediately launched a British subscription drive. In early November, Garnet reported to the North British Daily Mail that his efforts in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Glasgow and Edinburgh had raised half the required £600 in three weeks,’ (Ripley 1985: 327).

<sup>59</sup> I have not managed to locate this letter.

Garnet's father from recapture<sup>60</sup> and the counter-arguments of Douglass and other anti-emigration abolitionists. Soga may even have discussed the availability of South East Africa for such a homeland with Weims and Garnet. The area north of the Kei River was still independently owned by the Xhosa peoples, and presumably no one would have needed to ask for permission from anyone but the Xhosa peoples to settle there. Interestingly, the Rev John Whittle Appleyard, Soga's contemporary at the Wesleyan mission at Mount Coke, notes in a letter written to the Secretary of the B&FBS from Mount Coke on April 9 1859:

The Translation of the Kings has fallen into my hands, notwithstanding the arrangement made with the Revd. H.H. Dugmore and the Revd. T. Soga, of which I informed you in my last communication. The former was prevented by ill-health, and the latter by want of time in consequence of engagements incidental to the formation of a new Nation.

BSA/E3/1/4/0: 121. Recd. June 2 1859

The significance to the cultural landscape of the history of South Africa had this marriage gone ahead merits discussion and constitutes to my mind a potential neoculturation. Weims would undoubtedly have returned to South Africa with Soga, and possibly brought out her family too, unless the couple had settled in Scotland which would have been highly unusual, compounding the abnormality of having ordained Soga in Scotland, rather than in Africa (Hunter 1873) and defeating the purpose of his ordination to preach in Xhosa to Xhosa people. The scope for political reorganisation given an expanded understanding of Soga as a man of the globe widens exponentially. The question of whether Soga or his father carried enough sway within the traditional structures of the Xhosa chiefs to persuade them to begin to create a homeland or allow a broader section of the African-American community to settle permanently within the South East African communities is meritorious. Soga took regular trips to Lesotho apparently to convalesce (Williams 1978: 37) and was in regular contact with the two most powerful Xhosa chiefs of his time, Sandile and Kreli.<sup>61</sup> The antipathy between these two men was not as important to them as

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<sup>60</sup> [http://www.novelguide.com/a/discover/ewb\\_24/ewb\\_24\\_00080.html](http://www.novelguide.com/a/discover/ewb_24/ewb_24_00080.html)

<sup>61</sup> Soga openly recorded other overtly political interventions during his lifetime. His journal specifically provides details of his visits to the kraals of various Chiefs. Sutú, the mother of Sandilli and Gaika's queen, visited Soga at Emgwali (15th May 1857). Sandilli, whom Soga visited on the 25 May 1857, visited Soga on the 30 August 1862, with Oba, son of Tyali and some other retinue. Soga visited Sakela, Sandile's headman (24 July 1859) to attempt a vaccination which failed. Soga also visited Ngqonga (27th May 1857) as well as 'Gonga' and 'Nonga', who I take to be the same person (12 July 1859 and 5th November 1869 respectively). He visited Fiyn (13 July 1857), Ngodwana (21 September 1858 and 10 February 1859, recorded on the 26 February 1859), and Mhlana (21st September 1858). On the 16th January 1860 Soga returned with Festiri and Tobe from visiting Mahama, Mbombo, Mhle, Nkata, Ndesi and Umhle. Soga's next recorded visit was only nine years later, when Kreli received a visit on the 6th June 1869 to begin talks about founding the new mission station at Tutura, however Soga's letters confirm that 'the true princess Royal of

their common heritage, as was to be seen later when Sandile needed help to outwit the British soldiers in 1878, and called on the assistance of Kreli (Meintjes 1971: 291). Whilst it is true that the auspices under which he travelled to these chiefs were Christian and religious, Soga acted as an interlocutor between the West and Africa in this way, and at least one article written for *Indaba*, ‘The Death of Namba, son of Maqoma’ (Williams 1983: 153 - 160) was written following one of these visits, with the express intent to record traditional Xhosa customs.<sup>62</sup> I find it significant that Soga also tried to purchase land in his personal capacity (Williams 1978: 53 - 4) since land apportioned to mission stations was usually owned by those churches. Soga writes that he noticed that the ruins of his old Mission House had been bought and discovered that ‘a valuation of £25 [had been] put upon them’ (Williams 1983: 63) which moneys should be returned to the UPC. He also comments of his Mgwali station that

the four or five thousand acres – are an inelienably (sic) bona fida property of the Mission – I may receive or refuse any person desirous of living within the limits of the grant, according as I am pleased with him or not.

Williams 1983: 52

Indeed, Soga’s request for personal land was never acceded to, whilst it appears that it was never refused outright either. It may be possible that this New Nation involved the creation of a locale, a type of protectorate or homeland, in which the Xhosa people could regroup following the dispersion in the wake of Nongqawuse’s prophecies. There is also a possibility that Soga wished to use this land to build a New Nation in the same way as a black homeland, such as were developing in other places on the continent of Africa, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Soga’s clear appraisal of the dire situation of African-American slaves is most visible in his letter to the *King William’s Town Gazette and Kaffrarian Banner* (11 May 1865) ‘*What is the Destiny of the Kaffir Race?*’ and in which he most particularly mentioned ‘the Negro Republic of Liberia’:

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Kaffirland’, Sandilli’s daughter Victoria, and her unnamed companion were placed with Soga in 1862 and that ‘the younger brother of the boy under the charge of the Bishop of Cape Town’ would ‘likewise’ be brought to Mgwali (Williams 1983: 56). Once Soga had re-established contact with Kreli there followed a flurry of visits, to Chazibana and Zito (5th November 1869, recorded on the 20th of that month), Tunda and Nyeki (both on 6th Saturday (must be December) 1869), and Ngudle, Kofu and Ngubo (7th Saturday (must be December) 1869). Finally in 1870 Sigcawu and Sindonyana, the uncle of Sigcawu, are present at church in Tutura on the 16 October 1870. No chiefs are named in the long itineration of the 9th July 1857 but Lebotoboto, Ngodwane, Nolaza and others are named as being present at the opening of Fotheringham’s school at Bolo on 19th June 1857.

<sup>62</sup> The authorship of this article is given in *Imibengo* as J.A.Chalmers (1935: Contents page) although published in Soga’s regular column in *Indaba*, called *Zivela Kubabalelani* (Vol. 1. No. 2, September 1862. 22 - 27). However in Chapter Four: *Reading Soga (2) Tropes and Scopes* I shall argue that it was written by Soga.

I find [the Negro] opposed by nation after nation and driven from his home. I find him enslaved – exposed to the vices and the brandy of the white man. I find him in this condition for many a day – in the West Indian Islands, in Northern and Southern America, and in the South American Colonies of Spain and Portugal. I find him exposed to all these disasters, and yet living – multiplying ‘and never extinct’. Yeah, I find him now as the prevalence of Christian and philanthropic opinions on the right of man obtains among civilized nations, returning unmanacled to the land of his forefathers, taking back with him the civilization and the Christianity of those nations. (See the Negro Republic of Liberia). I find the negro in the present struggle in America looking forward – though still with chains in his hands and with chains on his feet – yet looking forward to the dawn of a better day for himself and all his sable brethren in Africa. Until the Negro is doomed against all history and experience – until his God-given inheritance of Africa be taken finally from him, I shall never believe in the total extinction of his brethren along the southern limits of the land of Ham. The fact that the dark races of this vast continent, amid intestine wars and revolutions, and notwithstanding external spoliation, have remained ‘unextinct,’ have retained their individuality, has baffled historians, and challenges the author of the doom of the Kaffir race in a satisfactory explanation. There has been observed among these races the operation of a singular law, by which events have readjusted themselves when they threatened their destruction.

Williams 1983: 180 - 181

He continues a little further on:

I take another ground. How does the extinction of the Kaffir race tally with the glowing prediction – the sheet-anchor of the Church of Christ, and of the expectation of the toil-worn African missionary – ‘Ethiopia shall soon stretch her hands to God?[]’. The total extinction of a people who form a large family of races to whom the promise applies, shall not, surely, precede its fulfilment.

Williams 1983: 181

Soga clearly sees more equalities than differences within the ‘family of races’ which include the Xhosa people and black races of many descriptions across the world, and he clearly experienced and promoted a sense of solidarity and affinity with all in the struggle to remain ‘unextinct’ against ‘spoliation’ which means ‘being split up’, divided. Soga questions the desire and valour of Negroes to ‘return[...] unmanacled to the land of his forefathers,’ in other words to Africa, and ‘taking back with him the civilization and Christianity,’ suggesting that he wished to do or be part of the same. In this discussion of the predicament of black people globally, he uses the word ‘Negro’ as a totalising term for global black peoples, and he clearly sees all black people as subject to the same treatment by white people.

This evidence of Soga’s acculturation or affinity to African-American thinkers equates to the expansion of knowledge to a global conscience, but still shows no deculturation. Here Soga’s deculturation or loss of identity is therefore a regaining of a new identity, that of an international antislavery global community. Williams points out that Xhosa people felt a

solidarity with the soldiers of Crimea:

The evidence strongly suggests that after 1853 especially during the years of the Crimean War (1853 - 1856) there was a general consolidation of an attitude of “them and us” on the part of the Blacks in Caffraria, based on differences in colour. It drew strength from the speculation which had been abroad during the Crimean War that the British should and would be resisted by the Blacks led by former chiefs and prophets who, hallowed by earlier resistance, in mystical fashion emerged in the Crimea to fight the Whites.

1987: 59

Williams also points out that Xhosa people felt the same sense of solidarity with the Indians involved in the mutiny four years later in 1857 (1987: 60 - 61) noting that, ‘In the uncertain, powerless and restless situation generated by the Cattle Killing, the Blacks turned eagerly to the Indian Mutiny as a solace in their time of trouble’ (60), and, ‘certain Blacks, or Black groups, in Caffraria took the Mutiny seriously, looking towards it as a source of encouragement in their constrained circumstances,’ (61). Williams quotes J.C. Warner in his letter to Richard Southey:

It is commonly reported that nearly every Tribe, from the Bashee to the Umzimvubi [sic], has its prophet, who almost daily harangues the people, and tells them that the black nations of the East have nearly extirpated the English, that Moshesh has settled the Boers, and that we are a doomed people.

Warner-Southey, enc to des. No. 166, 27 September 1858, in Williams (1987: 61)

Moreover, Williams notes: ‘As I have indicated elsewhere [Williams 1970: 380] incipient nationalism in Caffraria is characterized by a strain of unification among the various tribes, “some consciousness of belonging to a common race, with a common heritage that included long years of defensive measures against white encroachment, both material and spiritual.”’ Bickford-Smith (2011: 76 - 77) describes nationalism as ‘created and experienced in particular historical circumstances, while its ideological content is subject to change over time, and is likely to be at least partly re-imagined or recreated.’ Norton (1941: 59) explains that the nineteenth century was the first moment in which southern African people became race conscious as they perceived their identity and cultures to be subsumed within the colour of their skin by the colonists, leaving political and religious differences unappreciated and unacknowledged amongst the colonialists.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> He says ‘The second basic factor [in the emergence of new religious organisations in South Africa] in the evolution of the new faith is the growth of a Bantu race-consciousness. In the past, we must maintain, the consciousness of belonging to the Bantu Race as a whole did not exist in the Native mind. The Bantu peoples were divided into completely independent tribes. Apart from the common origin of race and culture there were no symbols of unity, sanctions or common interests of any sort binding the Bantu into even a loosely co-ordinated whole. The smaller division of the tribe was the sole sphere of existence. To it alone the individual owed his whole allegiance and loyalty. This did not apply to the tribe or group only as a political unit but



It is therefore conceivable that the chiefs would have been willing to act more focusedly in solidarity and allow the resettlement of African-Americans within their communities. Furthermore, the British war against slavery and against America regarding slavery and its support for Liberia and Sierra Leone means they may have been pressurised into condoning and even actively supporting a recolonisation of an area in which they already had a vested stake and a semblance of authority.

Much has been made of the impact of Soga's eventual marriage to Janet Burnside because of her race. Their relationship constituted a symbol of the kind of neoculturation which the South African authorities most feared, and which would only become legal in South Africa one and a half centuries later. Miscegenation has been called a pivotal enabling aspect of transculturation, and also compared with it:

Transculturation, like miscegenation, is initially based on the interaction of two cultures, but gradually creates something new that is more than just the sum of its two constituents. More and more cultures begin to participate in this transformation process and ultimately and ideally develop into a completely new form of culture. Thus, this transculturation process takes its departure from binary structures, but, as Nancy Morejón has argued, finally "means the constant interaction, the transculturation between two or more cultural components with the unconscious goal of creating a third cultural entity – in other words, a culture – that is new and independent even though rooted in the preceding elements" (quoted in Lionnet *Autobiographical Voices* 15 -16).

Birkle 2004: 229

In this instance, Soga is an exemplary transculturator: the couple had eight children, of whom the second, a boy, died at birth (see Appendix E for the Family Register and Appendix P for the genealogy of Soga's children) and maintained close cultural ties with Britain, and especially with Scotland, where Janet Burnside repaired after her return to Scotland following Soga's death, taking up residence in a house close to Dollar Academy, where her youngest children were day scholars. A long history of Xhosa people studying at Dollar Academy has continued until this day, with Soga's great grandson still resident in Dollar, a retired schoolmaster at the Academy. Deena Zenzana studied at Dollar Academy too (Ngqongqo in Mcebisi (Ed) 2008: 47),<sup>64</sup> and later accompanied Walter Rubusana, her husband, when they both went to Scotland to complete the translation of the Bible into Xhosa in the 1880s (Ngqongqo in Mcebisi (Ed) 2008: 48); Alan Kirkland Soga wrote for *Izwe Labantu* which insisted on the importance of educating Xhosa people

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also as a religious unit. The ancestral spirits of any other tribe but his own were unknown and inimical [obstructive] to him,' (Norton 1941: 59).

<sup>64</sup> Jan Tzatzu and Andries Stoffels travelled to England in 1847 to discuss the treaties which had been reneged upon (see Appendix U for a photograph of this).

in Scotland and Britain and established scholarships towards achieving this, rather than continuing to educate Xhosa people within the racist confines even of Lovedale College, which taught black and white students different subjects because of their race (Opland 1998: 223 – 261). However the extent to which Soga was able to impact on global culture during his short life was negligible and it was left to his sons and grandchildren to continue this work. Indeed, Soga's ability to transculturate was tolerated as long as it did not require the express validation and respect of the centre, as I shall prove in Chapter Five: *The Audacity of Veracity*.

Perhaps we must agree with Attwell when he notes that Soga's ambition to overcome prejudice against black people may have been 'too great for him in the end' (2005: 50). Yet Firmat explains that transculturation theory is not about each phase *per se*, but rather the achievement of each step. 'As Gonzalo Aguirre Beltran pointed out some years later, *transculturación* etymologically denotes, not the phenomenon of culture contact as a whole, but only the moment or phase of passage from one culture to another (Beltran, El proceso de aculturación: 10 - 11 in Firmat 1989: 22). Firmat (1989: 23) argues that the term transculturation refers to the changes that occur between the fixed positions of acculturation, deculturation or neoculturation; he argues that the term refers not to what happens during those phases but rather to the changes that take place between those phases. As such, Firmat's reading responds to poststructuralist notions of 'the space between' and he tracks the number of times that Ortiz uses the prefix in a particular page count to show that Ortiz had a predilection for the value of the prefix 'trans' and was not likely to have used any other:

In this light, it is not surprising that Ortiz would prefer "transculturation" over "acculturation". The crucial difference is that his prefix underscores the processual, imperfective aspect of culture contact, and hence it is more apposite for Cuba. More than a comprehensive rubric for the sum or result of culture contact, transculturation is the name for the collision of cultures, for that interval between deculturation and neoculturation that defines a vernacular culture in its formative phase. Although at one point Ortiz states that transculturation names the "synthesis" of cultures (p. 130), the word properly designates the fermentation and turmoil that precedes synthesis. For this reason "transculturation," a coinage that denotes transition, passage, process, is the best name for the Cuban condition.

1989: 23

This is interesting because Birkle (2004: 229) explores the relevance to the understanding of this focus on becoming to WEB DuBois, and finds that it is akin to his merging of two selves; it is a precursor of double voicedness. She says:

Although relatively stable notions of ethnicity and nationality were retained in most of these border crossings, I see Du Bois's merging self as an early twentieth-century equivalent of transculturation. Du Bois wanted to "merge his double self into a better

and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost” (Souls 45). Because of the importance of ethnic belonging, Du Bois, too, remained within this binary pattern of a double self, but I argue that this merging self was a step in the process of transculturation (“ÜbergangssprokeB”) and structurally a model for multiple cultural interminglings.

2004: 229

Soga’s experience of transculturation becomes possible as the negotiation of multiple coexistent identities, with no demonstrable wish to discard any or deculturate from any. This meaning seems relevant to me in relation to Soga’s dual persuasions regarding his faith. He also negotiated two language systems, oral and literate, without seeming to want to discard either. Also, Soga lived through the historical period when the notion of nation was being defined, with fixed borders coming into being for the first time in southern African history, and the land in which he was born annexed and renamed ‘Queen Adelaide Province’ soon after his birth, and again six years prior to his death. The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland had been in existence less than ten years at the time he was ordained, having been formed out of the merger between the Relief Church and the United Secession Church in 1847<sup>65</sup> and was to merge and remerge with different bodies such as the Free Church extensively over the next century (Hunter 1873). Soga also negotiated the European and African metaphors of Christianity; within a few years of Soga’s death the African Ethiopian Church was first founded in South Africa. Crucially, Fitz (2004: 42), citing Spitta (1995) offers the insight reminiscent of Conrad’s opening pages of *Heart of Darkness* that, ‘transculturation has to be understood as a process which already starts before the cultural encounter with Europe – because there were countless cultural encounters between the different tribal cultures long before the arrival of the Europeans –and carries on into the present.’ This enables multiple coexistent identities which is the sign of neoculturation.

Bradford concludes that

While most scholars would concur with Peggy Brock’s suggestion that the “known world” of African and Aboriginal Christians “did not include the imperial metropole or even its peripheral centers,” as this comparative study reveals, ordained ‘native missionaries’ through-out the British Empire were able to use mission networks to develop important knowledge about the metropole and the wider world. Using mission networks, Henry Budd and Tiyo Soga constructed a vision of the world that stretched beyond their local context, emphasising the binary nature of the Christian and the non-Christian world, the role of Noah’s family in connecting the people of the world, and the centrality of Britain in exporting Christianity and modernity across the globe.

Bradford 2010: 333

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<sup>65</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_Presbyterian\\_Church\\_of\\_Scotland](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Presbyterian_Church_of_Scotland)

Here we have seen transculturation as a term refer to post-colonialism, to signifying, intertextuality, miscegenation, protest literature; a further meaning which I have not included thus far is of globalisation; Ortiz used the term to refer to changes to cultures which occur as a result of global trade and the concomitant impact of new products on that culture. Ortiz was interested on the impact of sugar and sugar farming on the tobacco industry, and Bloom takes up this discussion in reference to the global trade of opium in *Vermeer's Hat* (2008). There is however a danger that the term becomes a catch-all phrase for critical theories which seek vocality for subjects and might not focus specifically on inclusive communication and interactions. It may also become indistinguishable from these terms, as has postmodernism from poststructuralism in many circles, and the finer distinctions regarding the opportunities it affords will be stuck in academic debates of Maki Saki magnitude (De Kock 1995: 65). This would be most unfortunate.

The term 'transculturation' has also been used by contemporary communication scientists to encompass and stress cross-cultural co-operation and globalisation. Millhouse, Asante and Nwosu explain:

[...] transculture is defined as a form of culture created not from within its separate spheres but in holistic forms of diverse cultures. Whereas culture may have the capacity to free us from the dictates of nature—that is, from its restrictions and necessities—the merit and capacity of transculture is to free us from the conventions and obsessions of culture itself. [...]

The concept transculture is, therefore, based on the principle that a single culture, in and of itself, for maturity requires interaction and dialogue with other cultures. [...] Epstein (1995) ... suggests that “the transcultural world lies not apart from but within all existing cultures, like a multidimensional space which appears gradually over the course of time” (p13).

1995: ix

Scholars of this discipline dedicated to non-racism and non-sexism use the term and have used it for almost twenty years in the process of seeking to increase the efficacy of communication between people of different cultures and races.

For decades, scholars of human interaction have wrestled with questions about the nature of transculturalism. For example, some want to understand international and cross-cultural issues that are also transcultural: they ask if religious and historical struggles within and between cultures can be solved through a spirit of transculturalism. Others want to improve their understanding of the consequences, for transculturalism, of socially constructed identities. They may ask how people sojourning in diverse contexts are affected by the dynamics of those contexts. Questions also exist about the fundamentals of transculture research.

Milhouse, Asante and Nwosu (Eds) 1995: x

The four most important principles of this work are authentic communication, acceptance and

affirmation of diversity, inclusiveness, and an ability to relate to others with understanding and respect (Milhouse, Asante and Nwosu (Eds) 1995: 46). It is also an important feature of the ways in which Soga negotiated the different powers operating around him, and it is interesting to note that he is fulfilling this aspect of transculturation theory, as Bradford notes:

In contrast to Nxele, a more militant prophet in the early 1800s, Ntsikana articulated a policy of peaceful co-existence with Europeans. Tiyo Soga's father was an early follower of Ntsikana, and his mother identified closely with Ntsikana's community when it moved to the Tyumie valley under the leadership of Dukwana, Ntsikana's son and later an elder in Tiyo Soga's mission.

2010: 318

Although I dispute Soga's father's status as a follower of Ntsikana, Soga maintained close ties with Ntsikana's family throughout his life, particularly Ntsikana's son Dukwana, Soga's lifelong friend and companion, whom Soga named as Church Elder and invited to take up residence with his family at the Mgwali and Tutura mission stations alongside him and Mrs Soga. This stress on peaceful co-existence could be akin to Ortiz's notion of *ajiaco*, which may indeed be valuable as a metaphor for transculturation to engage contemporary South African culture. This opportunity for a South African version of *ajiaco*, so reminiscent of the bobotie in Wicomb's 'Another Story': 'the layers, different things packed on top of each other' (1990: 69), comprises a cultural identity consisting of all these different identities in South Africa. It allows us to talk about a new cultural identity for South Africans, even a neoculturation, in a way which differs from the rainbow nation – no longer separate stripes but that intermingling, aromatic, cross-sectional engagement. I salute Attwell's need to tell a story about our past in a new vocabulary, and I believe that it will be achieved.

## Chapter Four: Reading Soga (2) Tropes and Scopes

This chapter is an investigation of Soga's literary oeuvre, his history with words and his works in print. I will present a study of Soga's voice, including a discussion of his relationship with literacy and publication, and his exhibition of the wordlessness and inaudibility of other speakers which continues throughout his writing. A surprising lacuna in the study of Soga's life and philosophy is that there is very little work on Soga's written words. De Kock and Williams have both pronounced on Soga's political philosophies as exemplified in his writing, and Williams' topographical study of Soga's handwriting, as we have seen in Chapter Two: *Reading Soga (1)*, has been ground-breaking, but only Gideon Khabela (1996: 119; 130) has examined Soga's work to find his use of idiomatic and literary devices. In the previous chapter I sought to prove that Soga's use of the repetition of the question, 'When shall Ethiopia hold out her hands to God?' cohered with the use of Blyden, Crummell and Delany, and allowed a reading of Soga in which he takes his historical place alongside these men. In this chapter, I shall continue to examine Soga's writing for instances in which he displays further evidence of this relationship, and consider the presence of a strong Black Consciousness perspective in Soga's work. This chapter argues that Soga's ambivalent relationship with words is consistently signified by elision and deletion, by words which are missing, although this time not censored by outsiders but by Soga himself. Soga marks the discursive space where the words would have existed, but frustrates the reader by leaving only the impression of those words.

Aside from his hymns published as 'Songs of Zion' (Gideon Khabela 1996: 119) which responded to 'the hopes and suffering of the Xhosa people' (Gideon Khabela 1996: 119; 130), texts by Soga show that he was not interested in literature per se. Soga's chief literary relation is to persuasion, and hence to rhetorical strategy. This is a different aspect of discourse studies from literary exegesis, but it is no less revealing of the author's use of devices to drive home a point of view in writing and/or oration. For Soga, words are a means of exchange. His published writing and his handwritten Journal all display his sense of the imperative that a text should both have and realise a purpose, which is to persuade readers or listeners to a point of view. Soga consistently exhibits his awareness of his audience, adapting language, vocabulary and style to suit his different audiences. One of the main functions of Soga's work as a religious minister was persuasive oration in the form of delivering sermons, and, as I shall discuss in the next chapter, 'The Audacity of Veracity,' the persuasiveness of Appleyard's translation and expression in Xhosa is the key factor in Soga's critique of Appleyard's translation of the Bible ('*The Kafir Bible*' (1866): 2). The question of

persuasion relates first to organisation. In all his work Soga displays an acute consciousness of his audience and the importance of coding a story which an audience will find believable.

The first work I shall examine is Soga's speech to the YMCA given on the 7<sup>th</sup> June 1866 (Williams 1983: 183 - 194). This long oration was lauded as an excellent speech and Soga described the transcript in the *Argus* as 'fully reported' when he sent a copy to the Foreign Missions office of the UPC (Williams 1983: 113). Soga opens the speech by apologising for its disorganisation, and explains that he has written the speech without access to his normal study materials (Williams 1983: 183), thereby stressing the epideictic experience of the event. The speech is composed along the extended metaphor of a shipwreck, a metaphor close to the minds in his audience following the then-recent wreck of the *London* (Williams 1983: 184). Additionally, the effects of this shipwreck would have been all too real to many in the audience who had faced the possibility of shipwreck as they voyaged on ships to South Africa, and the audience would have been well-versed in the histories of the many shipwrecks along the coast. Soga proceeds to provide a five-point discussion of 'the current popular religious opinions and tendencies,' (Williams 1983: 183) contemporary to that era, which Soga uses to build a subtle argument by comparison of the reception of Christianity by European and African, particularly Xhosa, people. Soga states unequivocally that he holds to the Reformist creation of the Bible and that its meanings to him are stable, thereby subtly commenting on his difficulties concerning the translation of the Bible into Xhosa, and obviating any accusation that his sense of the Bible and its meanings is impoverished. Further, Soga warns against changing any aspect of the doctrine which he has been preaching, for fear of losing converts whose patience is short lived. The speech also comes as a quiet response to Chalmers' statements on the destiny of the Xhosa people, published in 1865 in *Indaba*.

Soga mentions the danger in which Christian theology found itself, stating that 'ecclesiasticism has undisguised enemies in the present day. Upon the clergy not a few look both with suspicion and contempt,' (Williams 1983: 185). This is an ironic comment on the irreligiosity of the first world, of educated people look down on Christians as superstitious. The abnormal word order in the sentence, 'Upon the clergy not a few look both with suspicion and contempt,' complicates his meaning, and the subtle use of litotes provides the ironic meaning that many people are suspicious and contemptuous of the clergy. Litotes, along with meiosis, are two of Soga's most favoured literary devices, matching his sardonic style. This ironic inversion of the expectation of colonial superiority foreshadows the discussion of colonial treatment of Xhosa and other African peoples as superstitious, and oddly, forces the audience of Christians in the Young Men's Christian

Association to consider themselves as superstitious. Soga proceeds in his second topic to comment on the demand for a more liberal interpretation of the Bible, quoting the late Principal Cunningham's three reasons for this:

I 'That is the main features of theology of the Reformation, the leading doctrines of the Calvinist system, are not revealed to us, in the Word of God.'

II. 'That the Reformers erred in their whole theological system, because they had erroneous notions of the true province of logic, of the object and design of the sacred Scriptures and of the way and manner in which they ought to be interpreted and applied in the formation of our religious opinions.'

III. 'That the crude and erroneous notions of the Reformation in regard to the province of logic, and the method of explaining and applying Scripture, being corrected and taken away, it is now a fixed and settled thing that all theological systems are incompetent.'

Williams 1983: 187

These are the exact questions which Soga had faced from many Xhosa people in his preaching, and although he does not mention this, he does insist that the heathen will reject any reformation of the Reformation, and reveals the expectation of 'heathen' people that a story remains consistent, knowing that any equivocation in the details would fail the exacting standards of his audience and cause them not to be persuaded:

If the theology of the Reformation – the theology upon which the whole of our churches, in Christian as well as in heathen lands are built up – is to be expunged, if it is to be succeeded by another, then the authors of that other must come forth and take the responsibility of introducing it into those churches! Were we... as ministers to the heathen, to go to them and say, 'We suspend our labours, -- there is a new exegetical theology about to be; according to it we must reverse a good deal, or perhaps the whole, of what we hitherto have been teaching you – a good deal of it has been wrong – or the whole of it' – will any one here say what the consequences of such a course would be to the cause of religion in heathen lands? Whatever other heathen people would say, I know exactly what my poor countrymen would deliver in the matter. 'Is that what you say? they would ask. 'Old or new, it is all the same to us, you may now take it all away! We have been suspecting that this thing which you said was God's word, was only a fabrication of the white man, and this uncertainty is a proof of it!

Williams 1983: 189

Presenting the possibility of a rewriting or revisioning of Christianity will bring the entire religion and its practitioners and practices into disrepute and expose the impermanence and transient nature of the Christian doctrine to the problem of 'creeds, confessions and biblical commentaries' (Williams 1983: 188).

Soga continues in his next topic, named as the fourth but actually the third, possibly because the previous topic held three sub-points, to discount all rationalist responses to the Reformation as unbelieving by means of paradoxes and periphrastic repetition which expose the ludicrousness of



the rationalist perspective in their verbose and even absurd tone:

God of course knows what best promotes the happiness or well-being of His intelligent creatures. But, truly, it sometimes does appear as if man's free will and reason were more a curse than a blessing to him! Does it not appear so when you look at the liberties which that reason often takes with the things of god [sic]? When it dictates terms to the Creator Himself, instead of the Creator to reason? Does it not seem as if the possession of reason were, after all, a curse to man, when the language of the rationalism of the day is – that in the Bible many things must stand to be tested by the reason of man – that we are to believe nothing there which we cannot understand, and which we cannot explain by reason or reconcile with reason – that all that is mysterious, miraculous, impossible to our consciousness and experience, in that Book we must 'throw overboard,' that it is not matter though it should affirm, 'Thus saith the Lord,' 'He hath revealed in,' 'he hath done it.' 'No matter,' says the self-sufficient reason of the creature of a day, 'no matter; there it had no right to be away with it! It should have been clearer, more reasonable, agreeable with experience. I care not to take, even at the hands of God Himself, what is not demonstrable!' Such is the philosophy of that rationalism, which, while it cannot sap the foundations of the Christian religion, is yet undermining the foundations of the faith of many in that religion!

Williams 1983: 189

Soga's use of questions as a rhetorical technique stresses the vulnerability of the philosophy in question, highlighting its apparently manifest theoretical loopholes, and also draws the audience into the speech, whilst the ironic inversion of the rational order of ideas of Christianity, that 'free will and reason' are 'a curse', with 'reason' taking liberties 'with the things of god,' creates a sense of moral authority amongst the audience, investing them in the discussion. Soga's fourth topic, again incorrectly labelled as his fifth, comprises the importance of the Sabbath and of the disrespect of business for the 'declogue.' Soga levels a critique of the colonial ruling class. Interestingly he extends his critique beyond the geographical confines of Africa and intimates that his audience may be multiracial as he asks, 'I would ask my African-born friends here present to go to London, to Edinburgh, to Glasgow, and other great cities of trade,' (Williams 1983: 190), in order to see the impoverishment of factory workers who, like slaves, and like many Xhosa labourers, are not permitted to rest on Sundays but work all week long. Soga knows that worker and labour issues are sensitive. He boldly appeals even to these irreligious people in the audience with his throwaway line: 'Is God (if there be a God) in the government...' (Williams 1983: 190), for these are his target audience, these are the men whose ears he needs to bend in order that they allow workers a weekly daylong respite from labour. Yet Soga immediately asserts that observing the Sabbath equates to a day's break, but not for the purpose of idleness. It must be used for the preparation of the soul for the afterlife, in other words for attending church:

Is it too much to ask the commercial world, by a compact agreed upon for the interests of suffering humanity, either to allow a more frequent and regular recurrence of

holidays, or to shorten the hours of labour daily, or to give one day in the week free?  
Such propositions of course, are deemed absurd and ruinous!

Williams 1983: 190

Soga's reference to the 'laws... of the Medes and Persians' (Williams 1983: 190) highlights his knowledge of classical culture. His ability to partake in global culture is a subtle assertion of African identity and Black propensity, and while it may not have been remarked on as such, it is likewise an appeal to the irreligious audience, because it refers to knowledge which stands in contradiction to Christianity. Soga's extended metaphor of the shipwreck is revived in this fourth point with his humorous anecdotal relating of his discussion with a ship's captain whilst aboard a ship who discusses the 'use of Sunday' (Williams 1983: 191) to allow Soga to comment on the 'representatives of a class. Thousands have no faith in religion, in spite of religious ordinances and privileges, - live without it, and do not disguise the fact,' (191). Soga's return to the metaphor of the shipwreck serves to displace his critique from members of his audience, and within the context of the extended metaphor of a shipwreck, this humour will gently prod the audience to remember that the mere title 'Captain' does not safeguard the crew from disastrous faults and mistakes. Again, Soga is able to comment on the discussion of the inroads which had been made into the conversion of the Xhosa and other African communities as he continues; 'Any thing of what you call serious religion is utterly discountenanced by a large portion of your educated, intelligent, Christian communities. Free and easy, that's the way!' (Williams 1983: 191). This is a comment on Chalmers' critique of the progress which Christianity has brought to Xhosa people in his article, '*What is the Destiny of the Kafir Race?*' of 1865, in which he links the survival of Xhosa people to their adoption of Christianity and civilisation. Here Soga subtly reminds the audience that survival and even cultural precedence do not depend on religion, as Christianity has not been adopted by all members of even purportedly Christian communities.

Soga professes that his final topic in his speech is a discussion of the improvement of the world by development, or the law of natural progress, which speaks directly to the question of the extinction or conversion of African people to Christianity raised by Chalmers and refuted by Soga the previous year. It allows Soga to comment on 'Bushnell's "Nature and the Supernatural,"' (Williams 1983: 192). Yet Soga deracialises the discussion by reminding his audience through his stress that they have the courage of their conviction and lead by example, saying: 'Speak out, then, dimly, temperately, but with courage and confidence. Your blustering neighbour, when he is next tempted to condemn religion, will not fail to remember that in you he has an opponent to encounter.' He also asserts that the quest for improvement is an individual spiritual one, regardless of race or

gender. The ‘conflict, then, is between those who have espoused their respective tenets. You can see, then, that if that Christianity is dear to your hearts, you dare be no spectators of her struggle,’ (Williams 1983: 193). This conditional declaration further individualises the relationship between the audience and their experience of spirituality. Therefore the speech is a subtle assertion of the global equality of the educated and literate and the uneducated and illiterate, of the workers and their employers, and of European and African people.

Like many of his era and country, Soga was a polyglot, speaking at least Xhosa, English and Sotho, and fluent in Latin and Ancient Greek. He uses English to speak to an English audience, drafting his official correspondence and handwritten Journal entries in English to ensure that they are clearly rendered, and in Xhosa to speak to a Xhosa audience. He uses the word ‘Decalogue’ instead of ‘Ten Commandments’ in his speech to the YMCA (Williams 1983: 189; 190; 191); and ‘burn’ when describing a rocky desert in a letter to the *MRUPC* (Williams 1983: 51) – a word unused in southern African nomenclature. Whilst this audience-centred approach to narrative construction is Aristotelian, in that it addresses each audience specifically in order to ‘bend its ear’, and relies on a shared ethos, it also points to the importance of persuasive techniques to Xhosa people, and the focus on task and on the realisation of the intention of the utterance. Soga’s compounded use of questions in his address on the jubilee of Rev Brownlee (*Kaffrarian Banner* Thursday 14 February 1867, included at the end of this chapter) creates a different effect. After an introduction lasting four paragraphs, Soga repeatedly uses questions in this speech, posing and answering as many as five rhetorical, open and closed questions at a time, intermingled. These questions are a key facet of oral communication, because they allow the audience to keep abreast of the story, and to focus and maintain their listening and attention to the speech. Equally importantly, they call upon the audience to be interlocutors, reminding the audience of the expectation of their response.

What is it they say to us in this address which they present him? They say it is fifty years since he left the land of his birth beyond the seas, since he left his friends and closed the door of his home against himself, so that those earthly endearments which are the support and the stay of a man’s life might never hinder him in the work to which he had devoted himself.

Well, how astonishing! How marvellous! What is it he saw? And where was it that he saw it? Whither was he going? And what was it that allured him? In answer to these questions, one great answer appears, --that the love of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ surpasses and transcends the knowledge of man, and the wisdom of man, and the judgment of man, and the thoughts of man, and that there is nothing on earth to compare with that love. [...] If you know it ye Kaffirs—if ye know it ye Fingoes – if you know it ye Hottentots, having grown to such an age among you, tell us how far his own private

property extends? Where are his cattle kraals? Where are his sheep kraals? On what hills do they graze? And where are his shepherds? He came to this country in order that your souls might be his spoils and his wealth. [...] With reference now to his work – do you say that he has laboured amongst us for 50 years? During all that long period has he accomplished anything? [...] Who are these now assembled whom I am addressing, and where are we assembled? Are we in the same degraded position as a race in which Brownlee found us? Does this day betoken no signs of civilization, or progress, or Christian enlightenment? To my mind, all that is now visible can be attributed to Brownlee. Speak out, tribe of Ntinde, sons of Ngconde? To what are the signs of progress amongst you traceable? What is it that moulded the character of such men, now no longer with us, as Gazini Maduna, Rhai, Busakwe, Mbena, Maquindi? To my mind, Brownlee made these men what they were. Speak out Gaikas, Manthlambles, Midanges,--what are we here? I say we are all the result of the labours of Brownlees. [...] Brownlee has been fifty years planting the seeds of the word of God amongst the Kaffirs. Am I to be told that the word which has taken so long to take root is to wither and die and be lost for ever in this country? Does any man mean to tell me that the word which has been introduced by such men as he, and Thomson and Ross and Kayser and Chalmers, who is no longer in life, and Bennie and Laing, and Govan and Birt, and Niven and Cumming and Weir and McDiarmid, and Shepstone and Dugmore, the ancients among us, is the word declared by such men to be lost? [...] Now what are my reasons for saying that the Gospel having once been introduced will continue with us? Here is my stronghold: --Is it not this that while these men have been planting, they were at the same time praying? Has Brownlee ceased to pray? Have our missionaries ceased to pray? No, from the day that he set foot on South Africa his life has been one long connected prayer. Now, have these vanished like water spilled on the ground?

Kaffrarian Banner 1867

The repetition of question words, ‘what’, ‘where,’ does,’ and constructions such as ‘Am I to be told’ and ‘Does any man mean to tell me’, ‘Is it not,’ are reminiscent of Snead’s comments:

The black church must be placed at the center of the manifestations of repetition in black culture, at the junction of music and language. Various rhetorics come into play here: the spoken black sermon employs a wide variety of strategies, such as particularly *epanalepsis* (‘because His power brings you power, and your Lord is still the Lord’) or *epistrophe* (‘give your life to the Lord, give your faith to the Lord; raise your hands to the Lord’). Emphatic repetition most often takes the form of *anaphora*, where the repetition comes at the beginning of the clause (instead of at the beginning and at the end in the first example above, or at the end in the second case). Such a usage of repetition is not limited to the black church, however, and may even be derived in part from the uses of repetition in the key church text, the Bible, as in the following anaphora from Psalms: ‘The Lord remaineth a King forever. The Lord shall give strength unto his people. The Lord shall give his people the blessing of peace’ (29: 20-11).

Snead in Gates 1984: 70

Soga appears to be using anaphora in this speech in precisely this way. He uses questions in the articles he has contributed to *Indaba* in exactly the same way as for this speech. After five

paragraphs in Soga's first article of *Indaba*, Vol. 1, no 2 August 1862: 9 - 11, Soga peppers his ideas with questions:

All is well today. Our veterans of the Xhosa and Embo people must disgorge all they know. Everything must be imparted to the nation as a whole. Fables must be retold; what was history or legend should be recounted... Whatever was seen or done under the requirements of custom should be brought to light and placed on the national table to be sifted for preservation. Were there not several tribes before? What is the record of their history and customs good or bad? Had we no chiefs in the days gone by? Where are the anecdotes of their periods? Were these things buried with them in their graves? Is there no one to unearth these things from the graves? Were there no national poets in the days of yore? Whose praises did they sing? Is there no one to emulate this eloquence? In the olden days did not some people bewitch others? What were the names of the men of magic? Is it not rumoured that some were tortured severely and cruelly? Are there no people who have an idea of matters of this nature which happened under the cloak of custom? Are there no battles which were fought and who were the heroes? What feathers were worn by the royal regiments... We should revive and bring to the light all this great wealth of information. Let us bring to life our ancestors; Ngconde, Togu, Tshiwo, Phalo, Rharhabe, Mlawu, Ngqika and Ndlambe. Let us resurrect our ancestral forebears who bequeathed to us a rich heritage. All anecdotes connected with the life of the nation should be brought to this big corn-pit our national newspaper *Iindaba*...

Williams 1983: 152 - 53.

Here Soga captures his audience's attention with these fourteen anaphorical questions, all the more imperative and emphatic when read aloud after the evening meal, the traditional time for telling stories in Xhosa culture, to a group of listeners, drawing in both the readers and the listeners. That Soga is speaking to the Xhosa people, or those literate in Xhosa, is a given. *Indaba* carried Xhosa content of which two thirds was rendered in Xhosa and one third in English. The politics of *Indaba* seem to resist the totalizing and hegemonic power of English which 'became the medium of prolonged discursive struggle in the formulations and renegotiations of contingent human subjectivity, the great drama of the nineteenth century,' (De Kock 1994: 35).

The literate tradition of works in the African languages has been brought into being primarily by writers who, though they may be literate in the European languages, have naturally gone directly to their native tongues for their writing. It is significant to observe that this tradition is being actively extended today by writers whose dual competence—in both an African and a European language—is an active one, demonstrated in works produced in the literary registers corresponding to each.

Irele 2001: 13

The passage is worth quoting in full for its extensive list of cultural realities which Soga does not wish to see disappear. He lists the most important Xhosa chiefs from the seventeenth century, the fact that there are cultural tales from each chief, and asserts that there were national poets, which therefore posits and reiterates the notion of the Xhosa people's access to literature, a literary

history, the highest mark of which is poetry. Ironically, Soga has performed the job which he asks to be done, and has coded a condensed history of Xhosa people in a historical epoch which sought to deny these aspects of traditional or autochthonous culture, and this within a newspaper run by a press arguably hostile to this culture. Soga's assertion of the intellectual integrity of the Xhosa people is all the more striking for the manner in which the discourse anticipates the regenerative focus of post-colonial literary research during the second half of the twentieth century. His figuration of the corn-pit as a cultural reservoir, or library, is based on the traditional Xhosa larder of a cornpit, or external silo, called, as Mtuze notes, an *udladla* (2004: 77).<sup>66</sup> Furthermore the positive connotations in the words 'emulate this eloquence' also constitute an act of Black Consciousness as they posit the importance and sophistication of this culture which is otherwise systematically 'degraded [and] despised,' (Williams 1983: 192).

Yet as I argued in Chapter One: *Literature Review*, instead of recognising Soga's redemptive intervention, De Kock upbraids him for not spotting the paradox of publishing oral literature in the newspaper printed by the very institution responsible for eroding oral literature (1994: 50), and further chides Soga for having 'introduced the problematic idea of *nation*' (1994: 50) defined by De Kock as 'a product of renaissance humanism (in whose traditions Soga was steeped in his Scottish university education) and its use is a marker of Soga's apparently contradictory impulse to protect pre-literate, pre-'national' culture by *museumising* it in a written form)', (1994(b): 52 - 3) (emphases in the original). It is difficult to know how else Soga could have set about protecting that culture. De Kock argues that Soga was not 'propounding 'Black Consciousness' in the modern sense' and that to argue so is 'forcing the point'; rather, he states, 'it seems far more plausible to suggest that Soga was an important figure in the crucial transition from orality to literacy and from independence to colonial interdependence, but that his 'consciousness' was ambivalently stranded,' (1994(b): 52). Ironically De Kock has chosen a passage absolutely redolent of Black Consciousness in its validation of Xhosa history and its reminding of Xhosa people of their cultural history to elucidate his point. The diction and vocabulary used in 'unearth these things from the graves' anticipates the jargon of Black Consciousness or post-colonial theories, as does the veneration of the idea of honour, or royal regiments. Whilst De Kock acknowledges that the enunciation and listing of such cultural artefacts as are mentioned in that 'long passage' show that Soga has a 'reverence for Xhosa culture' (1994(b): 51), he does not extend the importance to the fact of its being revolutionary or note that Soga's assertions constitute

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<sup>66</sup> Irele is vehement about the importance of books as a repository (Irele 2001: 26).

a forceful resistance and have an intrinsically recuperative and regenerative function to traditional Xhosa history:

The terms employed [...] dramatize the process of displacement of the oral tradition in Africa as a contemporary culture is being elaborated on the continent. It is a recognition of this truth that Hampaté Bâ's remark [that when an old person dies, a whole library disappears] registers, and we cannot doubt that it is his purpose to draw attention to the necessity of ordering this process of displacement in such a way as to effect a transposition of the oral tradition in Africa into a literate one as harmoniously as possible. This involves not merely fixing the texts in writing—doing this ensures that they are indeed preserved but only as mummies presented to our curious gaze—but also adjusting their forms to the new medium so as to revitalize their meanings in the new context of situation created by the emergence and development in Africa of the structures of a modern civilization.

Irele 2001: 83

These words aptly describe Soga's preference for a newspaper to perform this function, since a newspaper is a text which is dispensable and which finds its way into people's homes in an unassuming manner and with multiple purposes, and was much more likely to be purchased than books, especially by those who were not converts to Christianity or accustomed to reading. A newspaper is not the preserve of museums or libraries but is much more personable a text. Perhaps most importantly, at the beginning of this article, Soga anthropomorphises the newspaper, which embodies as interlocutor a person encased in words, as he states that he can 'anticipate great happiness from the publication of the newspaper. We shall be having a visitor who will converse with us very agreeably,' (Williams 1983: 151). Soga's promotion of the idea of a newspaper as a speaking text introduces to Xhosa culture the written trope of the talking book, as the importance of newspaper is that it adopts a talking voice, almost the second voice, seemingly addressing an immediate audience. Gates (1988: 127 – 169) has identified the trope of the talking book as a trope used by eighteenth and nineteenth century black writers exploring issues to do with literacy and freedom, and remarks,

The explication of the trope of the Talking Book enables us to witness the extent of intertextuality and presupposition at work in the first discrete period in Afro-American literary history. But it also reveals, rather surprisingly, that the curious tension between the black vernacular and the literate white text, between the spoken and the written word, between the oral and the printed forms of literary discourse, has been represented and thematized in black letters at least since slaves and ex-slaves met the challenge of the Enlightenment to their humanity by literally writing themselves into being through carefully crafted representations in language of the black self. Literacy, the very literacy of the printed book, stood as the ultimate parameter by which to measure the humanity of authors struggling to define an African self in Western letters.

Gates 1988: 131

Hofmeyr is certain that this is nothing short of a guided reading strategy on Soga's behalf:

Elsewhere in the editorial he provides further—but more implicit advice on how to read. He likens the newspaper to a visitor and outstanding conversationalist. He also compares it to a corn-pit that provides nourishment, or a container where treasures and valuable things are kept. Both of these metaphors supply readers with suggestions of how to approach this new medium of communication,

Hofmeyr 2004: 114

Irele also discusses the figure of the talking book (2001: 46). Soga imports this African-Americanist discursive device directly into the Xhosa idiom as a characteristic of literacy, which indicates that Soga has most likely read texts by authors such as Gronniosaw, an edition of whose A Narrative of the Most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, An African Prince, As Related by Himself was published in Glasgow in 1840 (Gates 1988: 132), and works by other authors who employ the trope of the talking book such as John Marrant, whose text had been published in twenty editions by 1835 (Gates 1988: 142), Quobna Ottobah Cugoana, 'a major black public figure in England at least between 1786 and 1797' whose text was published in 1787 (Gates 1988: 147), and Olaudah Equiano, whose The Interesting Life of Olaudah Equiano, was published in eight editions before 1837 (Gates 1988: 153). These texts would have been freely available to Soga during both of his visits to the United Kingdom. Gates insists that

shared modes of figuration result only when writers read each other's texts and seize upon topoi and tropes to revise in their own texts. This form of revision is a process of grounding and has served to create curious formal lines of continuity between the texts that together comprise the shared text of blackness, the discrete chapters of which scholars are still establishing.

1988: 128 – 129

'Shared modes of figuration' do not arise arbitrarily or accidentally, they comprise a sign of 'continuity' and therefore of knowledge. This thesis has followed this thinking and accepts that Soga became part of the global Pan-Negroist philosophical movement. Gates' insight that '[b]lackness' is not a material object, an absolute, or an event, but a trope; it does not have an 'essence' as such but is defined by a network of relations that form a particular aesthetic unity,' (in Gruesser 2005: 14) cannot be underestimated.

The articles which Soga submitted to *Indaba* appeared in a column, '*Zivela Kubabalelani*.' Soga's status as a newspaper columnist has previously been overlooked in Soga scholarship. Williams explained in personal correspondence that the source of the collection of Soga's articles in *Indaba*



for inclusion in his 1983 edited collection of Soga's works was Bennie's Imibengo (1935: 28 – 39 and 41 – 68). Williams wrote:

There is a short, separate prefatory note in the file in the Rev. Jolobe's handwriting which says:

“Essays by Tiyo Soga originally published in a newspaper called ‘Indaba’ (The News) which came out of the Lovedale Publishing House in August 1862 . It ceased to appear in 1865. Rev. W. B. Bennie included these in his anthology of outstanding Xhosa writings called ‘Imibengo.’ These have been translated from these versions into English”.

Williams, correspondence with me, 22/11/2010 (See Appendix I)

The articles included in Williams (1983) are indeed included in the contents page of Imibengo (1935: viii), but Bennie gives no information as to why he believes that particular authors penned particular texts in his collection.

# ULUHLU LWEZICATSHULO.

	<i>Iphepha.</i>
Elokudumisa uThixo	<i>Ntsikana</i> .. .. 1
UNtsikana :	
I. UBomi bakhe	<i>Zaze Soga</i> .. .. 2
II. UkuΣumayela kwakhe	<i>Makhaphela Noyi Balfour</i> 7
III. IimBali ezingaye	<i>William Kobe Ntsikana</i> 9
ImBali yakwaXhosa :	
I. Mnyakana uJwara waya kwa-Diko	<i>William Kobe Ntsikana</i> 13
(x) II. ImFazwe kaTutula	" " 15
III. UkuFika kukaNyhengane	" " 18
<i>Aa ! Mhleka zi omHle !</i>	<i>S. E. Krune Mqhayi</i> .. 19
(v) AmaZulu	<i>John Muir Vimbe</i> .. 21
IPhepha leenDaβa zaseKhaya	<i>Tiyo Soga</i> .. .. 28
UGxuluwe nabaThwa	" " .. .. 32
UTywala	" " .. .. 36
<i>Elokuβonga inDalo nomThetho ka-Thixo</i>	<i>InDumiso, xix</i> .. .. 40
EmLungwini phakathi	<i>Tiyo Soga</i> .. .. 41
AmaKristu neenKosi	" " .. .. 47
(x) AmaKholwa namaQaba	" " .. .. 51
UHambo lomHambi :	
I. IliZwe lakwaMendiswa	<i>Iguqulwe nguTiyo Soga</i> 54
II. UkuWela umLambo	" " " 56
III. UkwAmkelwa eSangweni	" " " 59
AmaTyala	<i>Tiyo Soga ?</i> .. .. 64
<i>ImiHoβe emibini kaDavide</i>	<i>InDumiso, viii. &amp; xxiv.</i> 69
AmaGqira namaGqwira	<i>Nikani Mantsayi ?</i> .. 70

Figure 28. Articles by Soga included in Imibengo.

Bennie 1935: vii

Bennie omits to mention the name of the column, but his obvious query of whether the author of 'AmaTyala' is Soga, with his question mark beside Soga's name, is evidence of the fact that it was published in the same column but not signed. The original article 'AmaTyala' was completed and had three paragraphs which commented on it appended to it (*Indaba*, Vol.1, No. 2, September 1862: 27) and it is therefore unclear whether the signature 'U-Nonjiba Waseluhlangeni,' which appears at the end of the entire article, corresponds to the entire article (22 - 27), or merely the last

three paragraphs. Jolobe was the chief translator of these texts into English, as Williams explains (1983: 150), with the exception of the translation of ‘The Death of Namba, son of Ma[q]oma,’ which was translated by Mr. C. Zama Gebede (Williams 1983: 150). Interestingly, ‘The Death of Namba’ is attributed to John A. Chalmers in Bennie (1935) and not to Soga.<sup>67</sup>

UkuBuba kukaNamba :			
I. UkuLunguza umKhuhlane	John A. Chalmers	..	74
II. IsiXakaniso	”	”	79
III. UkuNchwatywa	”	”	83

Figure 29. Author of ‘The Death of Namba’

Bennie 1935: viii

An article with the same column title is signed ‘Wellem’ (Gqoba?) (*Isigidimi samaXhosa* Vol 1 No 2 November 1 1870) and the same column appeared in *Isigidimi SamaXhosa* after Soga’s death (Vol 2 No 20 May 1 1872: 6), either having been accepted for publication whilst Soga was alive, or authored by someone else (see Appendix N for these two columns). The indeterminacy around the authorship of this column is, I believe, the reason Soga used a pseudonym, as he was clearly nervous of his responsibilities as a senior clergyman in writing a regular column for a lay newspaper; moreover, one of the terms of his employment was that he was strictly forbidden from making any political interventions (see Appendix O for this contract). This indeterminacy is also important because it directs attention to the issue of voice as representative of community, as cohesive and the same as any other, versus the idea of voice as owned by a sole individual, reflective uniquely of his or her soul, and the object of subject analysis. This is the crux of the debate between oral and written literature, where oral literature forms the shared repository of knowledge which all members of a group own and can tell to a group of listeners who share and know the content of the story, even embellishing it with their personal idiosyncrasies, and it will yet retain the hallmark of a community from which it springs, versus the notion of written literature, engaged in with silent contemplation by a lone author and destined for a silent lone reader to unpack as a solitary enterprise.

I think that Soga wrote the article ‘UkuBuba kukaNamba’ because it contains information about the death and burial of Namba, focusing on the consecration of the body. Soga had an abiding fascination with death, and one of the most frequently recurring images and tropes within his oeuvre is the depiction of death, which, with its religious significance concerning the passage of an

<sup>67</sup> I am grateful to Jeff Opland for introducing me to the queries in this discussion.

individual into the next realm, also signifies progression. From the first instance of death recorded in Soga's writing, the description of the burial of a child or two children at sea which appears in the handwritten Journal within a mere two weeks of his keeping it, Soga pays especial attention to the burial of the body, and its progress to the next realm carries significance beyond the superficial. This is an entry which appears to repeat itself too:

Sabbath, May 3<sup>rd</sup> 1857 [...] There is scarcely any place or situation in which incidents do not occur, that remind us very strikingly that here we have no abiding city - & that in the midst of life we are in the midst of death - The dark shadow of death, like the shadow of our own bodies follows us whither we would go - This Sabbath day was rendered very impressive & solemn by the funeral of an infant who died last night - aged fourteen months - Coffin - two holes—to let in the water - Revulsion of feelings - The deep plunge - The parents belong to the Ch of England - I therefore, at the request of the Captain, Read the burial service - Good wind - Lat 38 -

May 4<sup>th</sup> 1857 - Good day - We heard last night that another died, belonging to the same poor parents - had died - It appears they were twins - Funeral again today - Mr Johnston read the Burial service - Good day - A fortnight on board to day -

Williams 1983: 13 - 14

Soga's depiction of death as constantly haunting life is almost allegorical as the shadow embodies each individual to follow 'us' incessantly and its realness to Soga is evident, as is his 'revulsion of feelings' as he considers the 'deep plunge,' the burial of the body, which both cause him such deep distress that his anguish is palpable. Soga's use of the words 'heard last night that another had died' distance him temporally from the occurrence, removing him from the occurrence, as if it were narrated to him rather than happening around him. Soga does not read the Burial Service. From the anguish of Soga's first entry it is conceivable that Soga is too moved with emotion to wish to read the second burial service for the second day running. It is not clear whether the second child died on board or had already died - either way the two children both receive services on board, the first after the death of an infant, and the second the following day. No more is said of either infant, or of their parents, or of the incident/s, and there is no comment on the significance of the deaths or the burials during the course of the rest of the journey. They do not come up again in his diary as being people to whom he had ministered as he would have been, along with Johnston, a confidante. But not a word does he write.

Soga continues to valorise deathbed scenes. The first of these occurs on the August 8 1859, with the death of Notasi, wife of Dukana, a life-long friend of Soga, itinerant for the UPC.

Emgwali. Mission Station - August 9<sup>th</sup> 1859 - Departed this life at ½ past one o'clock noon Notasi the wife of Dukwana & one of our members - I was a witness of the last conflict with the last Enemy - and I bless God I was there - from the previous night to within half an hour before her death she was in a state of insensibility - There was then a very

remarkable – short – lucid interval – Her last words on Earth were spoken to me during that short interval of consciousness – for a minute or so before we understood what she said she indistinctly mentioned the name of God – Then she said, with an audible loud whisper, which produced the stillness of death among all present – ‘Tell me who that person is that is speaking -?’ – ‘The Teacher’ – was replied – ‘Who – Tiyo?’ – she enquired again – ‘Come and let me bid you farewell (or salute you – Bulisa) my dear Teacher – I was waiting for you hitherto’ – She never uttered another word after this - & in half an hour or so she calmly and peacefully fell a sleep in Jesus – A greater pattern of simple unwavering faith – of patient, uncomplaining suffering it has never till now been my privilege to see – She calmly months before anticipated the day of her departure – Williams 1983: 20

Crumbley, quoting St Armand, discusses what he calls the “science of the grave”, and remarks that the manner in which a person is described as dying impacts immediately on his or her expectation of salvation:

Deathbed behavior was taken as one of the barometers by which one could measure the rise or fall of the individual soul. If such behavior was characterized by calm acceptance and Christian composure, the chances were good that the soul could be sure of its election and that it was destined to join the Saints; if the dying person railed against death and abjured a hope of heaven, eternal hellfire and brimstone seemed equally imminent.

Crumbley 1997: 53

Accordingly, Soga’s depiction of Notasi’s death stresses her calmness and shows that she will be elected and ‘destined to join the Saints.’ This scene has been commented on because of the differences between the way in which Soga represented her death, and the way in which Chalmers represented Soga’s representation (Attwell 1995: 51; 1997: 571, 2005: 42; for my discussion of this see 194), but it is also interesting because of the way in which Soga handles Notasi’s speech, her voice. Soga does not admit that although Notasi had a ‘short interval of consciousness’ he could not understand her: ‘for a minute or two before we plainly understood what she said, she audibly called the name of God.’ She has called the name of God, after which her speech then becomes insensible. Yet Soga has represented these words in this text. Her whisper, ‘Tell me who that person is who is speaking’ has the effect of producing ‘the stillness of death among all present.’ Furthermore, Soga also represents his own inaudible words in Notasi’s speech, when she asks, ‘Tell me who that person is that is speaking?’, but he has not given us any indication that he was speaking, or to whom he spoke, prior to Notasi’s request. His inaudible words become signally important as they enable his entry to her realm, and permit her to request further words: ‘Come and let me bid you farewell,’ she asks: come and let me share words with you. Here is also a most self-conscious translation of idioms in Soga’s equivocation between ‘bid you farewell’ and

‘salute you’, and in this equivocation, Notasi’s own word is represented and her voice therefore enters the text in her chosen vocabulary: she said, ‘Bulisa’. Irele states:

Various solutions to this problem [of how to write an oral culture] have been attempted by various writers. The simplest approach has been a direct transliteration of African speech into the European language.

Irele 2001: 17

Soga’s equivocation shows his expectation of being read, and indeed this death bed scene is reprinted in the *MRUPC* 1 December 1859, Vol. 14 No CLXVIII: 217 - 219. The *MRUPC* version has a precursor entry, which sets the scene for the entry containing the death and builds the pathos of it.

‘Emgwali, Lord’s Day, May 1, 1859. – Dukwana’s wife is worse, her voice is almost gone. After speaking and engaging in prayer with her, she said she wished to say something in relation to her sickness. She then said she felt herself getting weaker and weaker every day, and that all had been done that could possibly be done for her. ‘I have already,’ she said, ‘given myself to the Lord in believing; I have given myself over to Him, and am entirely waiting His will. If I live, it is well; if I die, it is well.’”

Emgwali Miss. Station, August 9th 1859. – At half-past one o’clock afternoon, departed this life, Notasi, the wife of Dukwana, and one of our members. I was a witness of the last conflict with the last enemy, and I bless God that I was there. From the previous night to within half an hour before she died, she was in a state of insensibility. There was then a very remarkable, short, lucid interval, and her last words on earth were spoken to me during that short interval of consciousness. For a minute or two before we plainly understood what she said, she audibly called the name of God. Then she said, in a loud whisper, among all present, ‘Tell me who that person is that is speaking.’ ‘The teacher,’ was the reply. ‘Who? Tiyo?’ she inquired again. ‘Come and let me salute you, my teacher; I was hitherto waiting for you.’ She never uttered a syllable more on earth.

Williams 1983: 81 - 83

Soga states that the first entry is also taken from his diary, however this is the one instance in all of his work in which he refers to a diary entry which is not in his handwritten Journal, and therefore I submit that he has written it for the *MRUPC* entry, expressly for the purposes of creating pathos. Stating that it came from the diary lends authenticity, furthermore. Soga has also represented Notasi’s voice as ‘a loud whisper’ spoken directly to these present, rather than as ‘indistinct,’ a whisper which ‘produc[ed] the stillness of death among all present.’ Irele discusses transposition as the translation of cultural idiom to English or other colonising languages, but here Soga transposes the cultural idiom of the colonised language to Xhosa as he writes this deathbed trope into Xhosa culture. This is most interesting and theoretically not yet accounted for. Soga comments on the activity of transposition in other entries in his writing, for example in his letter to the *MRUPC*, he writes, ‘This thing (the gospel, - I am giving Mr. B[rownlee]’s ideas of course in a

Kafir, not in an English form) to them is a boon...' (Williams 1983: 100). Soga is self-reflective about the issues in the translation of an idiom in one culture to another and he is sensitive to the needs of both cultures, one to speak freely and the other to understand correctly that which has been said.

The entry from the handwritten Journal itself is interesting because it is tucked into one page. Most significant is the underscore at the end of the entry which continues over two lines, and that the question mark after speaking contains a strikethrough, as if to invalidate the question, or the idea of speech.

Empoalis. Mission Station — August 9<sup>th</sup> 1859 — Reported this morn-  
 at 1/2 past one o'clock. Noon — at 1 o'clock the wife of Dukh-ana & one of  
 our members. I was witness of the last conflict with Patient Mary — and I felt  
 God that I was there — From the previous night I was here and how before her  
 death <sup>she was in a state of possibility</sup> there was then a very remarkable short lucid interval — Her last words  
 on earth were spoken some during that short interval of consciousness — For a minute or so before  
 she understood what she said she distinctly mentioned the name of God — Then she  
 said, with an audible loud whisper, which produced the silence of death  
 among all present — "Tell me <sup>who</sup> that person is that is speaking?" — "The read-  
 er" was replied — "Who — Living — Life?" she inquired again — "Come and let me  
 bid you farewell (or salute you — Relia) my dear Teacher — I am waiting for  
 you to that" — She never uttered another word after this — & in half an  
 hour or so after the calmly & peacefully fell a sleep in Jesus — A perfect  
 picture of simple unwavering faith — of patient, uncomplaining suffering  
 it has never been known since my presence to read — She calmly  
 months before anticipated the day of her departure —

Figure 30. Entry for Notasi's death. Handwritten Journal page 21

Soga has written a further long passage for inclusion in the *MRUPC* detailing his finding of a person in grief, who had lost his wife and his two children two months previously (Williams 1983: 87 - 88). Again, the person's voice signals the importance of the piece; Soga's 'ears caught the

sounds of a voice as if wailing; yet [he] was not sure. [...] One of [the party] struck out suddenly from the rest to overlook the kloof, and see what the matter was,' but this person cannot see. The sound of the voice is indistinct, as is its source; Soga is not able to identify it because it is confused and mixed up with other sounds, of 'the cheeping noise of the saddle, with the hard tramp of the horses' hoofs on our thirsty African roads,' but then Soga realises that he hears 'the sound of a human voice in bitter and wild lamentation, deep down in the ravine,' (Williams 1983: 88 - 89). When they find the person who 'was sobbing aloud; [...] broken sentences, the meaning of which we vainly strained our ears to catch, were intermixed with his strong cries,' (Williams 1983: 89). The words are again indistinct, the deferred meaning makes them all the more compelling to Soga. It is left to the man's affect display, his 'fine face that pleaded eloquently for sympathy with him' (Williams 1983: 89) to communicate the voice which cannot be heard.

Soga then describes the man very closely: 'His blanket hung loosely about his shoulders, the palm of his right hand was resting on the crown of his head, and the head itself slightly inclined to the one side,' (Williams 1983: 89). Soga's impersonal detachment of the person from the body, the prioritisation of the attitude of the body, is similar to descriptions of a dead body, as if it had no spirit. Indeed, when the friend replies to Soga's query as to the cause of this grief that this man grieved for his wife and two children who had died two months previously, we realise that the indeterminate voice and the lifeless body are textual abumbrations of death. Moreover, the bereaved man's voice is prioritised as ultimately powerful as he had gone to that place specifically to weep because it is the place at which their bodies are buried, because of the 'belief amongst us that if a friend comes to weep at the grave of a friend, it will not be long before he follows,' (Williams 1983: 90); his own voice becomes a death knell. Soga explains to the readers of the *MRUPC* that he preached to the man to comfort him about the possible happiness of his family, which although unrealised was still comforting. This description also becomes an anecdotal elucidation of the Bible, as it allows Soga to understand the 'Apostle's exhortation to the Christians of Thessalonica, when he said concerning those who had fallen asleep in Jesus, they were to sorrow not 'as others who had no hope,' (Williams 1983: 90).

This fascination with death can be read as an example of Soga's autoethnography, in which the script of native burial rites is returned to the metropolis. However, the repetition of the trope suggests that it is not only or merely iteration, but a reinvention and therefore a progression. Snead suggests that '[i]n black culture, repetition means that the thing circulates (exactly in the manner of any flow, including capital flows) there in an equilibrium' (in Gates 1984: 67).



Apart from revealing or secreting the repetitions of material existence, a third response [to repetition] is possible: to own that repetition has occurred, but that, given a 'quality of difference' compared to what has gone before, it has become not a 'repetition' but rather a 'progression', if positive, or a 'regression', if negative. [...] In any case, let us remember that, whenever we encounter repetition in cultural forms, we are indeed not viewing 'the same thing' but its transformation, not just a formal ploy but often the willed grafting onto culture of an essentially philosophical insight about the shape of time and history. But, even if not in intentional emulation of natural or material cyclicity, repetition would need to manifest itself. Culture as a reservoir of inexhaustible novelty is unthinkable. Therefore, repetition, first of all, would inevitably have to creep into the dimension of culture just as into that of language and signification because of the finite supply of elementary units and the need for recognizability. One may readily classify cultural forms according to whether they tend to admit or cover up the repeating constituents within them.

Snead in Gates 1984: 59 - 60

Soga also uses depictions from the stereotypical depiction of black people, and seems to borrow from this discourse: 'We are unreliable people Mr. Editor, to speak confidentially, because we like to exaggerate,' (Williams 1983: 152). Soga does seem to be aware of his audience, and indulging in narrativisation, and he also uses words such as 'a kaffir' and 'the natives' (Williams 1983: 58), thereby adopting the discourse of the colonial master. The following example is drawn from a letter drafted in the Letterbook about an incident regarding rain-making, albeit by Christians on the Sabbath:

It happened that the men belonging to these districts collected their horses & a whole day was spent by them in chasing a large species of a very useful – harmless Bird of the Buzzard Kind – if I am not mistaken – They succeeded in obtaining six of them – and then – stones being tied round each of them – were sank in deep waters – This was their cruel device to obtain rain - Yet these people were not ignorant of the living and true God – They know Him – and acknowledge his power and goodness when we speak of them –

Williams 1983: 55

Soga's description of this tradition also appears to be autoethnographic writing, however when Soga mentions rain-making in his Report to the *MRUPC* of 1 March 1867 about his visit to Kreli with Bryce Ross, a woman they meet grants the powers of rainmaking to Rev Ross Snr, father of Bryce:

She held this hand-basin forward and declared, that old Mr. Ross, when their vessels or basins were empty, used to fill them to overflowing with abundant rain time after time, whenever the land was dry. [...] I had before heard that our venerable father and friend, Mr. Ross, of Pirie, was reputed a rain doctor by the natives of his district. But here was a confirmation of this fact before me. I asked the woman whether the son – Rev. B. Ross, also at Pirie – whether he also had rain. 'She knew nothing of him,' she said; 'but was sure of the old gentleman any way.' 'But how did Mr. Ross give you rain?' I inquired. 'When, in dry times, he used to call us together, and get us to go in great

numbers to his house (the church), he would pray till our hearts were so nice, and the rain came before we were out of the house. 'Well,' I said, 'I cannot compare myself to the old gentleman you speak of; but, as occasion required, we would pray false to his God, who is ours also, and he would hear our prayers.' She finished by saying, 'That she made no doubt of it that old Mr. Ross was loved in heaven, for he got what he wanted here.'

Williams 1983: 122

The repetition of the trope of rain-making therefore also represents just such a progression, or a 'quality of difference.' Moreover, in the first example, Soga immediately retrieves the people who are hunting birds from damnation and from cultural ossification by asserting that they 'were not ignorant of the living and true God,' (Williams 1983: 55) and therefore were already engaged in progress. Throughout, Soga's writing focuses on linear progression. His chief organising principle is dependent on dates. The report-like function of all of Soga's correspondence, and the necessity of his charting the successes which developed over time at the mission station and of detailing the significances of the recent past to Scottish readers have moulded the journal to a chronology. There are gaps in the journal, most significantly the four years between April 1865 and June 1869, which were the years in which Soga was most involved in translation from English to Xhosa, both of Uhambo Lomhambi which was published in 1866, and with his work with the Board of Revisers of the Bible which culminated in a war of words between himself and the Revd. John Whittle Appleyard, which I shall discuss in Chapter Five: *The Audacity of Veracity*. This is in addition to the relatively quiet period between September 1863 and October 1864, when Soga's wife and son travelled to Scotland, with only five entries penned during that time, followed by a further five month break between November 1864 and April 1865, when Soga was moved to respond to Chalmers' letter to the Kaffrarian Banner, '*What is the Destiny of the Kafir Race?*' Even if, as I argued in Chapter Two: *Reading Soga (I)*, parts of the Journal were written after their occurrence and may or may not represent actual events, his internal structure adheres to the chronological passing of time, as Soga has arranged these entries according to the dates on which they supposedly occurred, and has deliberately left space for catch-ups. Soga does not tell us timelessness, he does not show us stasis, but movement, progress, success.

To assert this, is to assert that Soga took his place as a black writer within a black idiom, and therefore that he was an early proponent of the nascent Black Consciousness philosophy which was developing across Europe, Africa and America as Pan-Negroism. Moreover, Soga's explicit Black Consciousness philosophy in his rejoinder to Chalmers' letter of the same title reproduced in Williams 1983: 178 - 182 (see Appendix C) is a statement on racism and also on black power

which resists the effects of white racism across the globe. In this article Soga again employs revision or repetition in his use of the same title for his article as that of Chalmers' article which inspired his rejoinder: '*What is the Destiny of the Kafir Race?*' This repetition simultaneously throws open the answers to the question which Chalmers has tried to close with the answer of extinction, and also grounds itself in Chalmers' article, allowing no equivocation that the two articles are allied and that the second is a development of the ideas represented in the first. Soga responds to the questions which Chalmers raised in his article regarding the longevity of the Xhosa people, and Soga argues by a comparison of the speed of the adoption of Christianity and Enlightenment between black or Negro peoples, and with the Europeans who have had Christianity for fifteen or eighteen centuries (Williams 1983: 179). He asks, 'Has nothing then, as a set off to the gloomy picture, been done among this people this fifty years?' (Williams 1983: 179). His first named evidence of progress is that '...three or four hundred Kaffirs and Fingoes [...] have bought 80 acres lots from government,' (Williams 1983: 179), and then he reminds the reader of the 'many hundreds of native young men, in Mission Stations, members of churches, and teachers in Sabbath Schools,' (Williams 1983: 179). Soga also asserts the numerous Xhosa peoples who form part of this group:

the Gaikas, the Galekas, and Slambies, [...] the Fingoe Kaffirs, the Tambookie Kaffirs, the Amampondo Kaffirs, the Amapondomisi Kaffirs, the Zulu Kaffirs, and the Amaswazi Kaffirs. I find the family of the Kaffir tribe extending nearly to the equator; along this line I find them taking the north-eastern coast of Africa.

Williams 1983: 180

This discerning individuation and discrimination of various groups who had been broadly lumped together as one by Chalmers is a further example of Soga's redemptive attitude to black identities, as it expresses the differences between the groups which racism is blind to, seeing only its skin tone. Moreover, Soga is not afraid to use the word 'Negro':

Until the Negro is doomed against all history and experience – until his God-given inheritance in Africa be taken finally from him, I shall never believe in the total extinction of his brethren along the southern limits of the land of Ham. [...] in this matter, I for one shall adhere to the declaration of the 'old book' before I accept the theories of men.

Williams 1983: 181

Williams argues that this letter, published under the pseudonym '*Defensor*' along with the Journal entry of 25 April 1865,

'places [Soga] in an African setting where he transcends the confines of South Africa, and joins his fellow men in West Africa as an apostle of Black consciousness and negritude. His philosophy has its origins in the historical circumstances surrounding the

emergence of a colonial society and government on the Eastern Frontier, in which colour-consciousness was strong among the Whites who were constantly exerting pressure on Black territory. There was a constant fear of dispossession among the Xhosa. Tiyo Soga responded to it, for had he not been born in the year in which Maqoma, had been expelled from the Ceded Territory? His sensitivity towards territorial problems along the frontier are reflected in his 'Memo.' Of 10 March 1865 on the proposed removal of the Ngqika east of the Kei away from their beloved homelands close to the Amatole mountains.

Williams 1983: 5

Masilela also highlights the importance of racial solidarity within his description of African people as 'Hamitic' in this letter.<sup>68</sup>

In a fascinating turn of events, Soga's question in this letter, 'Can a nation sunk in the barbarism of the Kaffirs – the barbarism of age – elevate itself?' (Williams 1983: 181) is repeated in the letter from 'prominent Lovedalians' to Stewart on his departure for Scotland in 1890, which mentions people 'who were expecting too much from a people just emerging from a state of barbarism,' and again in that letter mentions the wish that, 'we might rise in the scale of civilisation,' (SP, BC 106 C252.22., as printed in De Kock 1992: 19) which echoes the notion of elevation first introduced by Soga.

The letter Soga wrote for William Anderson's centenary (Bradford 2010) shows Black Solidarity as of key importance to him, with his mention of African-Americans in slavery. Soga's work also pre-empts contemporary Black Consciousness theorists who are involved in redemptive work to research and chart this solidarity around the antislavery and other black political movements. Gaining land on which to settle permanently is as important to Soga as it is to contemporary Pan-Africanist theory, and Soga details his discussion with the governor His Excellency for land on which to build his mission station and an outstation (Williams 1983: 76 – 77), and his removal to Tutura is inspired by his need to protect Kreli, as well as allay Kreli's fear of further dispossession (Williams 1983: 5). A further critique of imperialism and colonialism is levelled in Soga's discussion of the impact of imperialism and colonisation on the environment, on nature; his articles in *Indaba* engage with the radical refacement of the landscape in the area in which Soga lived. Rivers are rerouted (Williams 1983: 163 – 164) and there are droughts (Williams 1983: 163 – 164) and forests deforested (Williams 1983: 164). The resources of the land are being employed by the colonists and not by the Xhosa peoples resident in the general area, and this unsettlement implies the settlement of foreigners in the area. In Soga's description of Mgwali, his river runs

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<sup>68</sup> <http://pzacad.pitzer.edu/NAM/presxhos/writers/tsoga/tsogaS.htm>

upstream not down: 'Standing on the rise on which the church is built & looking N.N.W. the Emgwali is seen in two streams – winding its way to its mountain Sources seven miles off,' (Williams 1983: 52). These destabilisations provide subtle indications that things are the opposite of what they ought to be.

Soga depicts Africa as a place of innocence and virtue, and also as endangered and vulnerable, passive, yet being perverted by development in her naivety. Soga's gaze is different from the economic and surveillance gazes and other colonial voices, he sees the effects of the gaze and provides a critique of the colonial enterprise and the colonists. No doubt this voice would have become more vociferous had Soga lived, for the devastation wreaked by the discovery of diamonds to the landscape follows close after Soga's death. Soga mentions the diamond fields in a letter printed in the *MRUPC* on the 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1871:

I suppose that you have already seen in public prints that South Africa has suddenly become famous in the eyes of the whole world, in consequence of the discovery of diamonds in the banks of the Vaal River, a large tributary of the Orange River, about four hundred miles to the north-west of Caffraria. The excitement for the last nine months has been something amazing throughout all parts of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope. I am sure that three-fourths of the male population in the eastern province are now in the diamond fields. I cannot but mark in this wonderful discovery one way by which God, in His all-wise providence, is opening up his vast but long-neglected continent for the progress of the gospel and modern civilisation. The money-seekers will gather the precious jewels; but the missionary of the cross will go up too, to gather in some precious jewels to adorn the Redeemer's crown.

Williams 1983: 138

Soga knows what the discovery of diamonds will do to his community and fears for the long-term ramifications. He clearly expresses his role as a 'missionary of the cross' as a spiritual leader of the people, unfortunately however, Soga died within seven months of publication of this report. He is said to have died of an illness which had also been blamed for many occurrences of Soga's own voicelessness. The first reference to his illness is in his letter from Somerville, dated 10<sup>th</sup> March 1857, in which Somerville states that he is 'sorry to learn that you have been laid with influenza' (National Library of Scotland, MS. 7640: 650). Tuberculosis raged through Glasgow at the time. Boils in Soga's mouth stopped him from preaching on board *The Lady of the Lake* on his return to South Africa in 1857 according to his entry on the 10 May 1857 (Williams 1983: 14), and in February 1860, Soga stated in a letter drafted to Somerville that he was 'becoming afflicted by the minister's sore throats,' (Williams 1983: 61). Strangely, in a report drafted in February 1862, the illness of Soga's horses had rendered Soga wordless:

For some time back my own itinerating has been interrupted by the sickness of all my horses – An epidemic has been going round the country among the horses – I lost a horse through [it] and the others have been rendered useless for any active service – for some time to come.

Williams 1983: 58

On the 2 March 1863, Soga ‘was seized at King William’s Town [...] with ‘inflammation of the windpipe, accompanied with fits of cold shivering and of fever, and with a pain in the left side which irritated the cough,’ (Williams 1983: 92). ‘He was [...] getting better; but he was afraid that it would be a considerable time before he would be able to resume active labour.’ In June 1863, the anniversary of the opening of the Mgwali church, he ‘had taken a journey to Basutu Land for recruiting health; [...] he] could not, without injury, have superintended the necessary arrangements for the occasion,’ (Williams 1983: 97). On the 8<sup>th</sup> April 1864 Soga sent a memo about the arrival of Dr Duff, whom he ‘could not go [to meet] for [his] throat had threatened to trouble [him] as [the previous] year’ (Williams 1983: 103). Ending that same entry, Soga notes that he had ‘been for three weeks unable to speak through the throat,’ (Williams 1983: 104). This illness did not improve: two years later, the editors of the *MRUPC* prefaced an excerpt from a letter dated 11 June 1866 from Soga that he has been labouring under ‘the painful affection of the throat... for two years’ (*MRUPC*, 1 September 1866, New Series, Vol. 1, No. IX, pp. 166-167, cited in Williams 1983: 111 - 112). Although he does not mention this in his correspondence or in any of his reports or his handwritten Journal, at the time Soga was working with the translation both of The Pilgrim’s Progress and the Bible into Xhosa, and perhaps this silence or speechlessness can also be read as a form of his reappropriation of his voice which allowed him to concentrate fully on those translations, whether voluntarily or involuntarily. Soga does mention in his letter of the 11 June 1866 that he is under medical care:

It is now three months since, in compliance with the kind wish of the Mission Board, I came down to these parts, to recruit my failing health. As soon as I arrived, I put myself in communication with proper medical advice. All that was done was in the way of slight medical prescription, and recommendation of immediate removal to Kalk Bay, a milder place, distant twelve miles from Cape Town. Here I remained for two months with considerable advantage to my health. Occasionally I run up to Cape Town to see my medical adviser, as also to make a few calls upon private friends. My voice so far improved at Kalk Bay, that Dr Kitching advised me now and again to use it gently, stating that the natural exercise of an organ is in itself healthy, and that, as a public speaker, it would not do to keep my voice so long out of use, otherwise, when I returned to my work then exercised it, it might break down at once. I have therefore at long intervals used in on three occasions in Cape Town – the last time not so successfully as in the first two.

Williams 1983: 112

Soga mentions further that his medical supplies are dwindling (Williams 1983: 115) in his letter printed in the *MRUPC* on the 1st January 1867. The following month, Soga gave this speech, reproduced in Appendix M, on the occasion of the Jubilee anniversary of Rev John Brownlee, in Xhosa, which he translated into English for publication in the *Kaffrarian Watchman* (Vol 1 No. 82).

This chapter has argued that there is evidence of Soga's solidarity with black and African people in almost all of Soga's writing and speeches, and that even when Soga was writing with a white European audience in mind, Soga uses tropes which are redolent of African-American writing, and subtly advances the notion of black literacy and of racial equality. This was highly revolutionary for his time, daring and undefeated by the difficulties which Soga continuously experienced, as the next chapter, *The Audacity of Veracity*, will explore.

Kaffrarian Watchman Vol 1 No 82.  
Thursday 14th February 1867

#### JUBILEE OF THE VENERABLE PATRIARCH BROWNLEE

A most interesting and instructive meeting was held on Thursday the 17th, ult., at Brownlee's station, King William's Town, to celebrate the completion of the fiftieth year of the Revd. John Brownlee, as a minister of the Gospel in South Africa.

The meeting was held in the native church which was crowded to overflowing by a mixed assemblage of natives and Europeans. From a rough estimate there could not have been fewer than from 800 to 1000 persons.

The Rev. Tyo [sic] Soga next rose on behalf of the United Presbyterian church and spoke as follows:-

Friends of truth, - I am appointed to speak this day on this very interesting occasion, on behalf of the United Presbyterian Church, and it is with feelings of intense delight and gratitude that I take part in this ceremony. At the same time, however, I feel it somewhat (sic) difficult to address you with propriety on this DAY OF DAYS. This is a day in which pleasurable and painful associations arise in one's mind—for after all in one's lifetime there are days which stand out as landmarks, and this one in my humble opinion will long stand forth as a marked day.

We of a sable colour, belonging to the various tribes of the Kaffir, Hottentot, and Fingo race, rejoice with gratitude at our presence here this day, because this day whilst it has a more immediate reference to our aged father before us has a reference also to ourselves; this day has reference to us because it recalls (sic) the work which God has wrought amongst us by his aged servant as well as by his other servants—our missionaries in this land.

I am both perplexed and overwhelmed when I endeavour fully to realize the thoughts which are suggested by what is being done under the sun of this day. I become so

because of the number of thoughts which spring up one by one involuntarily in my heart, all of them great all of them wonderful, some of them of a painful, others of a pleasant, nature. I feel perplexed as I look around me this day and see these white men our Fathers, our Teachers, who think it no shame to speak of us as being “flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone.” On such a day as this I look above and beyond all these petty differences and distinctions of caste and colour, and look upon the great and noble work in which they have been engaged for us, and as I do so, these men rise in my esteem and regard to a point of excellence and grandeur such as I never realised before.

I say I am perplexed on this day of sorrow when I look upon him whom we have come to honour, assembled as we are in such numbers, because to my mind although he has long proclaimed aloud the word of his master, it is as if his voice this day sounded in a louder and clearer tone. Let us for a moment go back on the object of this day’s gathering, let us take a retrospective view of our Father since his arrival amongst us. What is it they say to us in this address which they present him? They say it is fifty years since he left the land of his birth beyond the seas, since he left his friends and closed the door of his home against himself, so that those earthly endearments which are the support and the stay of a man’s life might never hinder him in the work to which he had devoted himself.

Well, how astonishing! How marvellous! What is it he saw? And where was it that he saw it? Whither was he going? And what was it that allured him? In answer to these questions, one great answer appears, --that the love of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ surpasses and transcends the knowledge of man, and the wisdom of man, and the judgment of man, and the thoughts of man, and that there is nothing on earth to compare with that love.

This man whom we now call by the title of OUR OWN OLD MAN, having left his home, as not allured by the love of gain. He was not weary of his home—his character was not tainted so that he was compelled to leave his home to go to an unknown country and amongst a nation that was not even of his own colour, there to retrieve his character. He was actuated solely by the principle of love to Christ. He was not actuated by the desire to share in the portioning out of the land of the Kaffir, nor by the desire to share in the spoils of Kaffir wars. He was actuated by the principle of love to Christ.

If you know it ye Kaffirs—if ye know it ye Fingoes – if you know it ye Hottentots, having grown to such an age among you, tell us how far his own private property extends? Where are his cattle kraals? Where are his sheep kraals? On what hills do they graze? And where are his shepherds? He came to this country in order that your souls might be his spoils and his wealth.

He and these men our missionaries like his master before them, care not to be rich in order that by his poverty he might receive the true riches. Brownlee was actuated by such a principle in coming here.

He is a friend, a TRUE friend, a friend who is destitute of revenge. His wife our mother, is also a friend, a true friend, a friend of the Kaffir. These fifty years both of them have borne painful things on our account, and wonderful to relate, such being the character of the parents, the children have inherited their virtues.

With reference now to his work – do you say that he has laboured amongst us for 50 years? During all that long period has he accomplished anything? I shall make but one and a very emphatic answer to this question. There are those who say that nothing has been accomplished by such men as Brownlee; I say emphatically there is—and this day is an incontestible (sic) testimony that he has done something.

Who are these now assembled whom I am addressing, and where are we assembled? Are we in the same degraded position as a race in which Brownlee found us? Does this



day betoken no signs of civilization, or progress, or Christian enlightenment? To my mind, all that is now visible can be attributed to Brownlee. Speak out, tribe of Ntinde, sons of Ngconde? To what are the signs of progress amongst you traceable? What is it that moulded the character of such men, now no longer with us, as Gazini Maduna, Rhai, Busakwe, Mbena, Maquindi? To my mind, Brownlee made these men what they were. Speak out Gaikas, Manthlambles, Midanges,--what are we here? I say we are all the result of the labours of Brownlees. He and she sounded to other missionaries the tocsin of a heavenly warfare, and we have gone forth to battle under the leadership of the King of Kings, the Lord Jesus, and left our fathers and our friends and neighbours. If it is not so, if our fathers before us have accomplished nothing, cast aside these hats and bonnets you wear, cast aside these trousers and coats and these gowns, unloose and cast aside these boots you sport, and let us all merge back to the very same state of degradation in which Brownlee found us, because there is nothing in Christianity.

Brownlee has been fifty years planting the seeds of the word of God amongst the Kaffirs. Am I to be told that the word which has taken so long to take root is to wither and die and be lost for ever in this country? Does any man mean to tell me that the word which has been introduced by such men as he, and Thomson and Ross and Kayser and Chalmers, who is no longer in life, and Bennie and Laing, and Govan and Birt, and Niven and Cumming and Weir and McDiarmid, and Shepstone and Dugmore, the ancients among us, is the word declared by such men to be lost?

Reveal yourself, and let us see you, you insignificant being that say so, no matter whether you be Kaffir or white man, and do not console yourself with the thought that while you are despising missionary work, you are doing so under disguise. Do not be like a frog that croaks unseen, concealed under the bulrushes; do not be like a snake that makes a rustling noise in the grass unseen.

God is not a fool like man. He knows the end of a thing from the beginning. If his eternal purpose of man's salvation were destined to perish, he would have entrusted his work to other than these. He would have entrusted it to useless, good-for-nothing men. He would have entrusted it to madmen. Having given his work to such men as these, His word will continue to future generations of our races, even although they are no longer here. The story of the Gospel will continue to make a sounding noise throughout the land. It will sound as we sang in our opening hymn, from hill to hill; the spirit of prayer will descend from river to river, and all men shall acknowledge and receive it everywhere. I declare to you, as it was declared last Sabbath in solemn tones to our people at the Mgwali, by the good Dr. Wangemann, now with us, that "God hath highly exalted His son, the Lord Jesus, and given him a name which is above every name, and that at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue shall confess that Christ is the Lord to the glory of God the Father." Yes! Every knee shall bow sooner or later, and every tongue shall confess that he is God.

Now what are my reasons for saying that the Gospel having once been introduced will continue with us? Here is my stronghold: --Is it not this that while these men have been planting, they were at the same time praying? Has Brownlee ceased to pray? Have our missionaries ceased to pray? No, from the day that he set foot on South Africa his life has been one long connected prayer. Now, have these vanished like water spilled on the ground? I tell you these men have kindled a fire which will spread until it envelopes the whole of this country in one brilliant blaze of light. I tell you that they have fixed a pole like that of the Kafir --boom and wild plum, bring forth leaves and flowers, and bear fruit, although he who planted them becomes unknown to anyone.

This day, commemorative of the 50th year of our Father's labours amongst us, tells us this solemn fact that the shadows of the evening time of his life are descending from the mountains; they are spreading away in the distance. In his journey homewards he has crossed all the rivers, and but few remain before him to cross now. The day is drawing to a close, the sun is fast declining. It says to us that he also probably is looking wistfully towards home. It says to us that by this act we are conveying him so far, although our prayer is that his Maker would give us the loan of him for a little longer.

Let me at this stage, tribe of Ntinde, sons of Ngconde, thank you for the manner in which you have commemorated this day. This liberal act on your part will be perpetrated, for this Bursary will cause his name to live amongst us; because it is intended to assist a young man of your own nation to study for the ministry.

In conclusion, We thank you are Father, Friend of the White man, friend of the Kaffir, of the Fingoe, of the Hottentot, friend of all men, because such an one as you came and settled amongst us and taught of the righteousness of your Lord. In your journey homewards may the richest blessings descend on your path, and when you have centred on your rest, may you have this assurance that we who are still here, are determined that though we fall oft, we will rise again with God's help following on your footsteps. Though we fall oft, we will rise treating the path which you came and opened for us, following that Saviour whom you came and declared to us as having died for our offences. Though we fall, we will rise nearing gradually until we arrive in that blessed, that everlasting home of which you came to tell us that it is in heaven above. Would that your Father in his own time would relieve you from all your earthly labours, being able to say, "Lord now lettest thou servant depart in peace."

## Chapter Five: The Audacity of Veracity

This chapter presents the result of my research into Soga's involvement in the translation of the Bible into Xhosa, work with which he was engaged for most of his adult life. Soga's abilities as a translator had been noted when he was still a young man, and he was offered employment as a translator which he did not take up. Soga also translated The Pilgrim's Progress into Xhosa, preparing that text for years of his life<sup>69</sup> and eventually sending the first part, with which he was satisfied, to print in 1866. At the same time, Soga was busy with the translation of the Bible, and although he does not mention this translation work in his handwritten Journal or in correspondence reprinted in Williams (1983), he does mention that he attended a day-long meeting of the Board of Translators (Williams 1983: 40) before a fortnight-long meeting of the Board of Revisers. This is the only clue into the research which has uncovered this fascicle of South African literary history, namely the translation of the Bible into Xhosa. Whilst to the secular and contemporary mind this translation may seem insignificant, to the history of the literacy of a country, access to the Bible in a mother language and access to the translating work involved are weighty political issues.

In the South African context, the translation was mired by a full-scale public fight over almost the full decade of the 1860s in which Soga played a central part. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Reverend John Whittle Appleyard, residing at the Mount Coke Station, was also engaged in the translation of the Bible into Xhosa, and he fought for the precedence of his translation, whilst Soga likewise fought for precedence. Yet Appleyard had the prior sanction and payment of the B&FBS officials, who overtly supported him and covertly were racist, and Appleyard is still recognised as the translator of the Bible into Xhosa. This intellectual argument is almost completely invisible in the history of South Africa, the history of literacy in South Africa, including the history of the mission presses in South African literacy. This chapter details the course of events which took place in this fight predominantly in written words, in letters, to the press, to missionary colleagues, and presents Soga's most difficult textual struggle, for precedence in the translation process. This literary history is important because it is part of the knowledge of South African literary history. This information comprises the historical knowledge of South African literacy and is vitally important to a continuing discovery of our history as a nation.

In 1858 the South African Auxiliary Bible Society published correspondence concerning the

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<sup>69</sup> I have discussed the length of time with which Soga was conceivably involved in the translation of The Pilgrim's Progress in Chapter One: *Literature Review* (51).

‘defective and unsatisfactory’ nature of the ‘translations of most parts of Scripture’ into Xhosa as a pamphlet (*The Kafir Bible* (1866): 1). The plan to ‘commit the work of translation to a Board of three Missionaries, viz. the Rev. J.W. Appleyard, the Rev. Bryce Ross, and a third to be named by these two gentlemen’ (*The Kafir Bible* (1866): 1) was not followed, and nor was the advice of the Committee of the B&FBS to leave the matter ‘in the hands of the Missionaries labouring in Kaffraria, and that, when the whole Bible shall have been translated and printed, then [...] interleaved copies be sent to Missionaries and others acquainted with the language, with the request that they will make such emendations as they think requisite, and return the copies by a given time; and that then it may be desirable, or even necessary, to form a Committee of competent persons to consider and decide upon the various suggestions offered,’ (*The Kafir Bible* (1866): 1 - 2). Appleyard continued to work alone on the translation, which by 1<sup>st</sup> September 1859 he believed that he had completed (Smith 1881: 74). In a letter to Rev Bergne from the B&FBS in London sent from Mount Coke on September 9 1859 he stated that he had printed copies of the full Bible in Xhosa on the Wesleyan Printing Press at Mount Coke (BSA/E3/1/4/0: 206 - 7).<sup>70</sup>

Appleyard’s translation however met with disapproval, and the critiques of his work were heeded and taken seriously, as Govan noted in the ‘Introductory Statement’ to the pamphlet *The Kafir Bible* (1866): ‘When the translation had been completed, and was in general circulation, and when the necessity of another and better translation continued still to be generally and strongly felt, in disregard of the plans equally of the Auxiliary and of the parent Societies, Mr Appleyard was sent to England to prepare a revised Edition’ (*The Kafir Bible* (1866): 2), arriving in Britain in May 1860 (Smith 1881: 79). This was ‘surely an unwise arrangement,’ notes Rev Govan in the ‘Introductory Statement’ to the pamphlet because, ‘single-handed,-- in England too, where he could have access to few, if any, that knew any thing of Kafir, and to none to whom it was vernacular,’ it would be impossible ‘to make a correct, idiomatic translation of the Scriptures into that language,’ (*The Kafir Bible* (1866): 2). The efficacy of Appleyard’s translation was raised again at a Conference of Missionaries of different denominations held at Lovedale in January 1864, but was abandoned at the suggestion of ‘a Wesleyan Missionary’ because the new translation was in revision (*The Kafir Bible* (1866): 2). Appleyard remained in Britain to oversee the publication of ‘[f]ive thousand copies of the Old Testament and ten thousand copies of the New Testament’ in 1864 (Smith 1881: 79) and he returned to South Africa the following year. At a meeting in July 1865 to fix the agenda for the January Conference of 1866 at Lovedale, this second edition of the

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<sup>70</sup> Appleyard had been a printer and a publisher before his calling to the church (Smith 1881: 4) and from 1849 he took charge of the Wesleyan printing press (Smith 1881: 41).

translation was yet pronounced defective and ‘it was agreed, on the suggestion of a Wesleyan Missionary, that the Rev. Tiyo Soga should be requested to prepare and read, at said Meeting, a paper on the Kafir Bible. Mr Soga, though prevented from being present at that meeting, communicated his views, in a letter to the Rev. James Laing, Secretary to the Conference, which was read at the Meeting, and which is the first of the [...] collection of papers [printed together as ‘*The Kafir Bible*’ (1866)], (‘*The Kafir Bible*’ (1866): 3).

Thereafter followed a flurry of fervent correspondence<sup>71</sup> regarding the merits and demerits of the translation between Appleyard and his fellow Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries in South Africa and abroad, especially Rev Gould who was secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society; between Appleyard and the B&FBS in London where Revs Bergne and Jackson were secretaries, which had elected Appleyard to produce the text and which had borne the cost of the translation, which, including the cost of Appleyard’s salary, amounted to £1000 (‘*The Kafir Bible*’ (1866): 1). There was further correspondence between the secretaries of the B&FBS and the WMMS, and Dr Duff of the United Presbyterian Church, who had been in Mgwali on his way home from India in 1864 (Williams 1983: 204) and who possibly had discussed this translation with Soga and Chalmers on that visit. The ‘Wesleyan Missionary’ at the January 1864 Conference must have alerted Appleyard to the dissension regarding the translation, because Appleyard notes in a letter to Rev Bergne on July 2, 1866:

You may perhaps remember that just before leaving England, I requested you to give me the opportunity of replying to any critical remarks, which might be made on my translation, before you arrived at any conclusive judgment on the matters referred to. I had then a strong suspicion that it would meet with some opposition from a certain party out there, as I had been informed that at one of the Meetings held occasionally by the Scotch Missionaries at Lovedale, a paper was read, containing some rather severe remarks in condemnation of our previous Version, which were of course useless in themselves, as I was already engaged on another in England & which met at the time with the disapprobation of some who were present.

BSA/E3/1/4/4: 230

Appleyard initially ensured that all of the missionaries within that ‘certain party’ remained anonymous, even the number of people involved is not given away, as the indefinite article ‘a’ with the singular ‘*party*’ indicates both singularity and plurality. Soga’s involvement and his role as leader of these calls for a new version is garnered from the use of the words ‘Scotch Missionaries at Lovedale.’ The use of the word ‘Scotch’ is ambiguous, seeming to hide Soga in its reference to nationality, for Soga is Caffrarian, Xhosa, or British, but not Scotch, and simultaneously to reveal

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<sup>71</sup> See Appendix J for as much of this correspondence as I have yet found.

him as one of the Scotch missionaries, through defining his Christian denomination. Aside from Govan, who was the headmaster of Lovedale College and not permitted to minister, only Soga and Niven fitted this description, as they were at Mgwali, very close to Lovedale. Chalmers was at Henderson (Williams 1978: xvi) after his brief stay at Mgwali on his return to South Africa from his ordination and marriage in Scotland (M.A. Chalmers 1892: xxiii - xxiv), and Johnston was resident at Grahamstown (ibid., xxiv).

Syntactically, Appleyard has relegated the participants to the syntactic status of indirect object of the co-ordinating verb 'meet with' in the sentence, 'I had then a strong suspicion that it would meet with some opposition from a certain party out there,' who have been objectified as the least plausible agents of action in the sentence. The subject of this clause remains 'my translation' through the proforma 'it'. The use of the word 'occasionally' also belittles the meeting as it infers that the meetings were haphazard or ad-hoc, which belies the fact that the missionaries attended annual 'Conferences of Missionaries' at Lovedale each January, with the Committee meeting in June to determine the agenda for the pending meeting. At this time, the chairperson was Rev James Laing. Appleyard's statement that the meetings were 'held by' the Scotch missionaries seems to negate the fact that the meetings were multi-denominational, attended by missionaries<sup>72</sup> in the area with common interests, of which the translation of the Bible as a text to gain converts is an excellent example. If Soga is a chief organiser, it shows that his focus was on inclusive co-operation. There is a further inference in Appleyard's letter that this 'certain party' is or are cowardly and acting in secret, however Soga had openly prepared the paper which was openly read to named participants, and the minutes from these meetings would have listed the attendees. Appleyard's inference of cowardice is a form of bullying which damages the credibility of those involved whilst simultaneously deflecting attention from the critiques to those who send them without engaging with the criticisms. In his reply to *'The Kafir Bible'* (1866), the 1867 text An Apology for the Kafir Bible: Being a Reply to the Pamphlet Entitled, "Rev. J.W. Appleyard's Version Judged by Missionaries of Various Denominations and Others", (An Apology (1867)) Appleyard insists that it is he who has been victimised, calling the requests for revision of his

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<sup>72</sup> According to the map given by Elphick and Davenport (1997: ii and iii) and reproduced here as Appendix V, this includes the London Missionary Society with stations at Theopolis, Uitenhage, Bethelsdrop, Hawley, Somerset East, Fort Beaufort, Peelton, Philipton, Cradock, Bushman Station, and Graaf-Reinet; the Moravian Missionary Society with stations at Shiloh and Enon; the Berlin Missionary Society with a station at Stutterheim; the Anglican Society with stations at St Lukes, St Marks and St Matthews, and the Wesleyans with stations at Imvani, Healdtown, Clarkebury, Shawbury, Buntingville, Morley, Butterworth, Wesleyville and Mount Coke, as well as the United Free Church of Scotland and the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

translation an example of ‘epistolary battery’ (1867: 46) because the critiques collected for ‘*The Kafir Bible*’ (1866) were all written as letters, and all communication with Appleyard on this subject had occurred in letters. The literal meaning of the words should not, however, be allowed to undermine the sarcasm and anger contained in the term.

Rev Gould likewise circumnavigates the identities of the opponents of Appleyard’s version in his correspondence with Rev Bergne of the 11<sup>th</sup> April 1866, mentioning merely that ‘Appleyard’s Version was unanimously condemned as “ridiculously defective”’ and that the ‘authorities against it are represented as the strongest that can be cited- -’ (BSA/E3/1/4/4: 184). Soga’s involvement is again implied in these descriptions; he is an authority both within the UPC, and an authority of Xhosa as a spoken and written language, as Govan notes:

Mr Soga is himself a Kafir; [... and] Messrs Soga and B. Ross in particular have been a good deal employed of late years in translating from English into Kafir, as well as in Original Composition in Kafir, for the press.

‘*The Kafir Bible*’ (1866): 6

On the 20<sup>th</sup> April 1866 Gould ventures to name the participants in the process, but still omits Soga:

The Conference consisted of various Missionaries belonging to the UPC, the Free Church and the LMS. The Authorities who condemn the version are such as Mr Bryce, Ross, Chalmers, and others, represented to us as undoubtedly the best Kafer (sic) scholars to be found.

BSA/E3/1/4/4: 190 – 191

Soga’s name is simply omitted. These men are given as ‘scholars’ of Xhosa and possibly the best, but Soga is much more than a scholar of Xhosa. Chalmers, Soga’s junior, is mentioned. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1866 (BSA/E3/1/4/4: 229 - 230) Appleyard again alludes to Soga in his correspondence to Bergne, when he refers to ‘the Scotch Missionaries at Lovedale’ but instead of specifying whom he means in particular, he generalises the identities of all the critics, again subsuming them within the unanimous voice of ‘the parties concerned’. In correspondence between Rev Sargeant and Appleyard on July 20<sup>th</sup> 1866, Sargeant discredits the characters of those involved more openly:<sup>73</sup>

I would say that in justice to yourself, and the British and Foreign Bible Society, the managers of the Scottish Bible Society are bound to demand of those who would ignore or summarily repudiate, the present translation, that they point out in an honest and manly way, what are the “ridiculous” defects” of which they complain.

BSA/E3/1/4/4: 257

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<sup>73</sup> This correspondence is included with the letter which Appleyard sent on August 8 1866 to Bergne, in Appendix J it appears on pages 10 – 12.

The maligning of the characters as *dishonest* and *unmanly* is obvious. The erosion of their credibility serves to enhance Appleyard's astonished refutation of the legitimacy of their critiques. Furthermore, in this instance, Soga and other missionaries have once again been objectified, their syntactic status has been designated as the indirect object of the verb '*to demand*'. They are those who are acted upon, not agents of action, not originators of interventions, not the subjects they assert themselves to be. The further use of the relative clause '...who would ignore...' and the personal pronoun 'they' likewise serve to make the group more remote from the text, which by implication removes their comments from reality, and serves further to erode the identities, and the spiritual and intellectual acumen of these critics.

Here is the first sign of the denigration of Soga's importance: he is never once directly named as a participant. On the face of it, it seems as if Soga was in no way involved with this. He is written out of the history even as it occurs. The first time that Appleyard acknowledges Soga's involvement is in the Introduction to An Apology (1867), printed almost two years later, where he notes 'the presence of the Rev. Tiyo Soga, to whom no doubt we are indebted for the superlative epithet "ridiculously defective,"' (1867: 31). This is his only mention of Soga's name in relation to anything superlative, and it is already mocking. The impetus here to degradation is already clear. Soga was never named as an architect or contributor to the calls for revision of the Xhosa Bible. Appleyard should not have considered Soga to be merely a spokesperson of others' ideas, unless Appleyard refused to name Soga until he had ruled out all possibility of a mistake. Soga was a celebrated and respected man in the United Kingdom, visited in his personal capacity and presented with a Bible by Prince Alfred in 1860 (Williams 1978: 32 - 36; 1983: 29, 204; and Royal Archives, RA VIC/ADDA20/70), and Appleyard would have great difficulty in credibly maligning him. The distance between South Africa and the United Kingdom may have caused Appleyard to try to bend the truth with impunity. Appleyard may be building bathetic suspense, foregrounding and warning others that even the best are about to fall. Perhaps he is not afraid of Soga, but merely refused to engage with a black person in any capacity other than that of authority: whether spiritual, ethnographical or philological. This was a common occurrence, as Aroga Bessong and Kenmogne comment:

Perhaps worse than this downplaying of the African role in Bible translation was the actual attitude of missionaries towards the African populations. In some circles, Africans were considered 'unclean.' Moubitang talks of American Presbyterian missionaries in Cameroon sharing meals in their homes with Africans and throwing their dishes in latrines once their 'guests' were gone! [...] Some missionaries even proudly stressed that they took all the decisions, and some did not allow Africans to have any



role in running mission stations. Stories of reticence on the part of missionaries to offer opportunity for genuine training to their African collaborators are recurrent. More importantly, to some generations of missionaries, African people were ‘blind pagans’. It is true that some noted the proximity between African and Old Testament mentalities, and began translating some Old Testament stories and Psalms, following the publication of the gospels. But how many viewed Africans and their religious beliefs objectively or in a positive light?

Aroga Bessong and Kenmogne 2007: 357 - 359

I expect that there was just as much correspondence between the missionaries and secretaries of the UPC and the Scottish Bible Society, and the National Society for the Bible in Scotland,<sup>74</sup> however the only remaining letter written by Soga on this subject was written in 1870 and concerned the revision of the translation. It is filed at the Cory Library in Bryce Ross’s papers (MS 10661). The letter is included here as Appendix H (iv).<sup>75</sup>

Somerville – Tutura – Transkei  
26<sup>th</sup> June 1870  
Revd B Ross  
Pirie

Lord’s day  
Dear Ross

It is the opportunity of an [express] to Town, to morrow morning, which makes [reward] on the sacredness of this blessed day.

If you and Mr Appleyard, have not finally closed the examination of proof sheets in the Gospel by Matth \_ I beg to call your attention to the following words, which ought to be changed – When I got the copy which Mr A sent me, I called together my Songs – lists – four – and another [word illegible] [word illegible] \_ all born Kaffirs\_ with the translation these are in Scriptures \_ they say\_ imhlope.

But they have all agreed that sifehlezo IV. 24 is not the Kaffir word for Rally, they gave four diff’t words for it but I use the most well known one – iGexo unjinga. Take either of the two.

2. The miqatywa - \* ) which they know is that which they call ipsinyane. It answers to the description of the Sparrow and to its habits. Let us prefer this word to the other, which really is not after the Kaffir fashion of calling birds.

3. The following are my own VI-16 0 Bawumissimingile – Bad readers might give it a nasty signification – Let us take – Bawufinelele.

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<sup>74</sup> Soga stayed at the house of Rev Morgan, a reverend ordained in the UPC, and a secretary of the B&FBS, in Cape Town during his convalescence in 1865.

<sup>75</sup> I am grateful to Dr Tolly Bradford for alerting me to this script.

Ch IX 10 linqsuqile – This word will need to be discussed by the conference – It does not – like the [word illegible] word imply reclining at meals – It simply means – setting at ease in a recumbent position. Let us have – mlethu-dlini. Verse 39. Plan an aspirate to the li of the first word.

Ch XXII. 27. Unikela – say unikelela

Ch XXIII – 25 – The Kaffirs say – geedown, will not do – It is the broken shell of an earthen pot. Not in any sense an isitya – No European dishes could same be rightly called Gecadura – unless those that are not whole.

Ch XXVII v 23 – Kanangonolde – is not Kaffir – but Fingo – Kwakonake or [word illegible]

Yours in haste, but truly  
Tiyo Soga

Extensive correspondence from Chalmers for the same period was kept by the B&FBS and is included in the correspondence inwards, but not one letter from Soga is included in the archive. Neither is there a word from the Ross brothers, Bryce and Richard, nor John Bennie Snr and Jnr., who were all members of the United Free Church, although this is accounted for in the archives:

No incoming letters to the United Free Church have survived. Those to the United Free Church from former UPC fields have been placed with those from former Free Church fields.

<http://www.mundus.ac.uk/cats/14/1029.htm> accessed 28 December 2010

Similarly, no outbound correspondence is recorded or filed, so the responses of Bergne to Appleyard, or Duff to Soga, are all missing. This removal of the letters creates a singularly lopsided picture of the turns of event. With Williams, one is supposed to shrug one's shoulders because the 'careless hand of time has thoughtlessly swept away so much,' (1978: xix) yet there is a nagging question over why every word Soga ever wrote was not filed assiduously to prove his fervour, to prove the sustainability of Christian gospel in the African context, to prove the success of the Christianising mission and projects. If some of his correspondence had survived it would be less certain that it was a deliberate deletion, but that every single word he wrote has been omitted from the archive beggars circumspection.

Eventually, in response to these calls for exact examples of the faults with Appleyard's translation of the Bible, '*The Kafir Bible*' (1866)' was printed late in 1866<sup>76</sup> and included all the letters of

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<sup>76</sup> In a letter sent from Mount Coke on December 12 1866 Appleyard states:

My dear Mr Boyce

critique from a wide range of contributors who responded to Rev Laing's 'Circular of the 6<sup>th</sup> July 1866 inviting criticisms on Mr Appleyard's Bible' (*The Kafir Bible* (1866): 9).<sup>77</sup> Soga has two letters included for publication. The first letter is the one read for the Conference in January 1866 and referred to above. It contains thirteen numbered paragraphs and is dated the 7<sup>th</sup> December 1865 ('The Kaffir Bible' (1866): 7). The second is dated the 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1866 and contains eight numbered paragraphs which comprise an audit of the mistakes to 'add to the criticisms in the original paper' (9) as Soga names and lists precise books of the Bible and verses in which he proves that Xhosa has been rendered unintelligible. Soga wrote both letters in a formal register, expressing his opinion and perspective exactly, evincing his fluency with issues governing grammatical correctness as he explains his reservations about Appleyard's verbal acumen with Xhosa. He writes to the point, supporting his points with vocabulary such as 'candour' and 'candid criticism' (7) and never digressing. Although Soga is polite, even saying he gives 'all due deference' to Appleyard,

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I have only just finished a letter to the Bible Society about the pamphlet condemning our Kafir version. As the post is closing today I have no more time to [word illegible] with particulars I have only made a few general remarks, and requested them to wait for my published reply before they come to any judgments and proceed to any action on the matter.

MMS/Correspondence/South Africa/Grahamstown /FBN 67  
Box 5 microfilm letter slide 182

Yet Appleyard still delayed in forwarding the information to the relevant authorities in Britain. He wrote to The Secretary of the WMMS from Mount Coke, 20<sup>th</sup> – 24<sup>th</sup> December:

Some two months ago it was resolved at a meeting convened by the Scotch Missionaries at King Williams Town, to print a pamphlet containing the opinions and criticisms which they had collected against the present Kafir translation of the Scriptures and send it to the British and Foreign Bible Society at home, and to every Missionary concerned in the country. One of my Brethren, being in Alice about a month since, called to inquire about it, and was informed that it would not be ready for two or three weeks, I supposed, therefore, that it will be just about ready to home by this mail, and that I shall thus have no opportunity of accompanying it with any remarks of my own. Not having seen any of the evidence which the pamphlet contains, it would be premature to venture any opinion on the character.

MMS/Correspondence/South Africa/Grahamstown /FBN  
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<sup>77</sup> The full list of contributors is Rev Tiyo Soga, Rev Chalmers, Rev W Greenstock and other Episcopal Church Missionaries' papers, London Society Missionaries. From the Berlin Missionary Society, the Rev W. Reign, Rev. J.L. Döhne, and Rev Kropf all contributed papers, and from the Moravian Missionaries, the Rev J.H. Hartman, Rev H. Meyer and Rev. T. Reichelt also contributed papers. The Free Church Missionaries Rev J. Laing, Rev J. Bennie, Rev Bryce Ross, Rev Richard Ross and Mr John Bennie all contributed a paper. From 'Laymen not missionaries', Mr H. Drummond Laing and Messrs. Brownlee and Warner sent papers (*The Kafir Bible* (1866) Table of Contents and Appleyard 1867: viii).

(9) he is never deferential, and he certainly resorts neither to subservience nor subversion. Alone of all the contributors Soga has numbered his paragraphs in a legal style, presumably to facilitate ease of reference in discussion.<sup>78</sup> He drew his first letter to a close in saying, ‘I have indeed said enough perhaps to be marked and remarked upon’ (9), revealing that he knew that his letters would be greatly debated, and furthermore that his letters may be used as a reflection of his work rather than the work he critiqued. Despite his authority of the two knowledge systems required for the rendition of the Bible in Xhosa, those being his status as a mother-tongue speaker of Xhosa and an ordained priest of almost a decade’s standing, and his multilingual acumen, Soga knew that his estimation of Appleyard’s text would not be respected immediately and regarded as inviolate.

Whilst Soga insists that his critiques in no way bear on the person of Appleyard, who he acknowledges has been ‘striving to serve the cause of our common Lord and Master in this land,’ (7) nor on the great labour which Appleyard has performed in the translation, noting further that, ‘we have nothing to do with the Translator or his labours’ (9) he is adamant that the work ‘never will stand—as a Kaffir Bible,’ is ‘a failure’ and ‘will never with the Kaffirs, be a familiar—a favorite [sic] Bible, as the English is to the English-men’ (7). The chief motivation of Soga’s unhappiness with the text is that ‘[i]t is not in the language which the Kaffirs themselves speak,’ (7). According to Soga, Appleyard does not properly understand the use of various parts of speech, including prepositions (8 - 9), relative pronouns (8), adverbs (10), auxiliary verbs (9, 10, 11), and nor can he correctly render idioms (10, 11 and 12). Moreover Soga notes that he has looked at the text ‘as a production in the Kaffir language—presenting to the Kaffirs themselves and to foreigners, the character of that language’ (7) and discusses the notion of productivity in language, for generating new vocabulary, adapting to new concepts and accommodating cultural growth. He accuses Appleyard of coining neologisms through his knowledge and understanding of the productivity of Xhosa in accepting English and Dutch (later Afrikaans) nouns as roots and the capacities of affixes, but which do not work. There are neologisms which are not Xhosa words, and cannot be read as Xhosa, such as ‘*selisha*’, which Appleyard (*An Apology* (1867): 53) identifies in response to Soga’s twelfth paragraph of his first letter (9) as one of the neologisms coined in Acts xxvi, 1. According to Soga, however, Appleyard has no right or prerogative to create such neologisms:

Mr A. however, with all due respect, is not the person to introduce such changes into a foreign language. It is, I think, enough for him to confine himself to what he strictly

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<sup>78</sup> Perhaps this an example of the ‘talking text’ – a text which will be the subject of discussion.

knows of the language. These novelties almost invariably occur in forced, unnatural connections.

*'The Kafir Bible'* (1866): 9

Moreover, it must be noted in reference to this example that *'-isha'* is not a suffix recognised in Xhosa as a verbal extensive, as are *'-el(w)-'*, *'-ek-'*, *'-an-'* and the causative *'-is-'*. Appleyard was inventing parts of speech, not only misspelling *'-isa'*. This prompts Soga to arrive at the striking conclusion that certain books, the Epistles especially, 'are well nigh as dark as midnight' (8). Soga's comment is striking because he clearly is not intimidated about using the word 'dark', using it to signify something impenetrable, incorrect. He is not self-conscious of the word as a signifier of his race. This is a type of Signifyin', as Gates describes in *The Signifying Monkey*; a black vernacular discursive trope which contains an 'ironic reversal of a received racist image of the black,' (1988: 52) and which specifically distinguishes a black difference between two meanings; Signifyin' is 'a sign of black difference, blackness of the tongue,' (Gates 1988: 92). Soga here specifically distinguishes his 'black difference, blackness of the tongue' in his appreciation of Xhosa to that of Appleyard. 'Signifyin', according to Roger D. Abrahams, 'can mean in other instances the propensity to talk around a subject, never quite coming to the point. It can mean making fun of a person or situation,' (in Gates 1988: 54), and Soga's indirect likening of Appleyard to the incomprehensibility usually connoted with unenlightened black people in describing his meaning as 'as dark as midnight' gives Soga's statement a touch of the humour, a further characteristic of Signifyin' (Smitherman in Gates 1988: 92), albeit derived from sarcasm. However, irony is a type of Signifyin' (Gates 1988: 52). That Soga seems to name Appleyard's racism as a definitive stumbling block in the translation of the Bible in calling his work 'black' also fulfils an aspect of Signifyin' in which the trope is 'directed at [the] person or persons usually present in the situational context,' (Smitherman in Gates 1988: 92). Gates provides a copy of 'A Black Lecture on Language, 'published at London in 1846' (Figure 13, Gates 1988: 93), and discusses the black parodies of white racism which were a feature of nineteenth century black discourse, mentioning especially

"Ethiop," a black person who frequently published essays in black periodicals, such as *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, in the 1850s,' (1988: 94) discussing 'What Shall We Do with the White People' [and] Signifyin' upon the genre of essays that came in the twentieth century to be called "What Shall We Do with the Negro" or simply "The Negro Problem." While this sort of essay assumed several forms in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it generally turned on the so-called absence of black progress in the mastery of formal letters, euphemistically called the arts and sciences.

Gates 1988: 94

Although there is no direct evidence that Soga read these texts, his ability to access them through his relationship with Weims and the years spent in the United Kingdom cannot be underestimated.

Appleyard has invented neologisms which as words are understood, but which are not the same as the neologisms invented by Xhosa speakers, most notably the proper names in the Bible. Soga believes that Appleyard should have used those which were already invented by Xhosa people, and astoundingly he says that not to have done so ‘has done violence to the language [Xhosa]’ (8 and 9). Soga asserts and maintains Xhosa autonomy and sovereignty; he indeed fights to maintain ‘consolidation against white territorial and cultural encroachment’ (Williams 1978: 21) as he stresses that Xhosa has all the words which are required in the ecumenical vocabulary without inventing new or adapting words from other nomenclatures to express these concepts, with the exception of names. This notion also flies in the face of those who insisted that the concepts in modernity, in Enlightenment and Christianity, were all ‘novel’ (*An Apology* (1867): 47, 63) to the Xhosa people, and therefore that Xhosa people were not heathen, because they use a vocabulary and discourse of spirituality. These concepts were obviously a normal part of Xhosa life if the language could accommodate them without seeking recourse to separate epistemological nomenclature. In this vein, Soga shows that he accepted cultural equality between English and Xhosa as signifying systems, with neither one supreme or inferior. He is not perturbed by the different status accorded to oral and written cultures.

Would they like the broken English of our friends, the Germans and the Kaffirs, to be taken as the English which is spoken by the English people [...] Without meaning offence to any one, the cases are exactly parallel.

*‘The Kafir Bible’* (1866): 7 - 8

Soga’s defence against cultural imperialism, and the threats which invasive words can pose to the autonomy of a language and culture, represents Black Consciousness philosophy. Appleyard has also used true Xhosa words but in the wrong concepts, which Soga discusses as the extent to which Appleyard understands ‘significations’ (*‘The Kafir Bible’* (1866): 8, 9, 11). He says, ‘There are many words in this Bible employed without pains having been taken to understand their precise significations,’ (*‘The Kafir Bible’* (1866): 8). Soga also makes clear that although he has written a full account of the mistakes, he has not ‘adduce[d] instance after instance in every page, where Mr Appleyard makes an ordinary statement of language, to groan under the weight of tremendous words—words which no native, in a simple statement, would think of employing,’ (*‘The Kafir Bible’* (1866): 8). Appleyard has yet to accomplish himself as a ‘master’ of Xhosa: ‘Of course one who [takes liberties with the language] must consider himself a thorough master of that language’

(*'The Kafir Bible'* (1866): 9). Soga continues:

For fear of being considered as being too severe, I simply state in reference to these histories, that, though you put all the warmth of feeling and interest you can, in the Kaffir by which Mr Appleyard has told them, you will never succeed in making them captivating and fascinating to the people.

*'The Kafir Bible'* (1866): 9

The point is an aesthetic one, concerning comprehension. The Bible is a document in which not just the words but their persuasive capacities are important. The idea that Xhosa readers are discerning about stories which are beautifully crafted as opposed to those with neologisms and spelling and grammar mistakes is significant because it simultaneously asserts the notion that Xhosa people exercised discretion in aesthetics, a notion overshadowed by racist apprehension of Xhosa identity under colonial rule.

Eventually, Soga has 'thoroughly given up Mr Appleyard as a person who knows any thing more than the mere theory of the Kaffir language,' (*'The Kaffir Bible'* (1866): 9).

Take any chapter from any book, or take any column from any page, and you will find challengeable unidiomatic sentences, that not only offend the ear but make the book unpleasant to read—Do you tell me that such a Bible is in the vernacular of the people?

*'The Kafir Bible'* (1866): 7

Soga has identified Appleyard's unwillingness to learn the nomenclature of the Xhosa people; Appleyard appears as a person prepared only to deal with the superficial aspects of playing with words, as an alchemist who cannot produce the gold he seeks. Soga is by no means the only respondent to mention these problems with the text. The other critics whose papers are included in *'The Kafir Bible'*, which could possibly be called the first anthology of writing back to the centre, voiced the same criticisms, stating that the text is illegible. Some of the critics were not fluent speakers of Xhosa. Others, however, insisted that they could not understand the meaning in the text.

The question of what Appleyard 'strictly knows' of Xhosa is vitally important here, because if Appleyard's translation of the Bible into Xhosa was so bad as to be 'as dark as midnight', his knowledge of Xhosa grammar so faulty that it constituted as Soga insists a 'degradation both of the events or facts he translates, and the Kaffir language' (*'The Kafir Bible'* (1866): 10) with 'grammatical and idiomatic errors [which] are often twice or thrice repeated in a verse' (*'The Kafir Bible'* (1866): 11), his knowledge of Xhosa vocabulary that faulty that his neologisms perpetrate 'a violence on the language', not only would this call into question his ecumenical responsibilities as

the salaried talent nominated by the B&FBS to undertake the translation, so too would it call into question his credentials as ‘a Corresponding Member of the Ethnological Society’ to which he had been admitted on the 31<sup>st</sup> March 1854 (Smith 1881: 59) on the strength of his 1850 text The Kafir Language: Comprising A Sketch of its History; which includes A General Classification of South African Dialects, Ethnographical and geographical: Remarks upon its Nature: and A Grammar. This was no small honour, and neither was the regal quality of its company:

This society was established in 1843, and had enrolled on its membership the names of some of the most eminent Ethnologists of the day. Sir B.C. Brodie was at this time its President, and the Earl of Ellesmere, one of its Vice-Presidents.

Smith 1881: 59

Appleyard hits back because to allow such a critique to prevail would be to become complicit in toppling an entire system of power conferral. This critique calls into question the manner in which these structures conferred power, respect and authority. The implication is also that others were awarded the same credentials with faulty, illegible texts, and calls into question the manner in which the accuracy of the translations was verified. Soga starts to undo the mechanisms by which such spurious notions of supremacy are invented as he perhaps inadvertently interrogates the structures and scaffolding which cover the edifice of superiority, of global philological supremacy. The Indian informant is also discussed in this way. This point is cemented by the apparently inadvertent statement made by Rev James Laing that the original translations were transcriptions of the interpreters of the missionaries: the Wesleyans never translated the Bible into Xhosa.

It is a curious circumstance, that the old translations, made by the European Missionaries when they were less acquainted with the Kaffir language than they are at present, are preferred by the natives to the new translation [...] In the early years of the missions to the Kaffirs, the missionaries did not know enough of Kaffir to enable them to translate into such Kaffir as could be presented to the people, and they were obliged to cause their interpreters to translate for them, the missionaries writing down the translation thus furnished. Whatever may have been the defects of these early translations, one great point was gained by them—the language of the interpreters was the correct and idiomatic Kaffir in such a style as the natives desiderate in regard to the Bible, or any book that is given to them in their own tongue.

‘The Kaffir Bible’ (1866): 30

Throughout the history of the translation of the Bible, European names are given as the polyglots, yet the intellectual work is the acumen of these interpreters who are also always unnamed, unacknowledged; these are the true polyglots, the thinkers who listen to stories in English and restate them within the Xhosa idiom. The role of the Europeans suddenly appears to be as medieval literati, as scriptor, transcribing others’ words with none of their own, or compiler, compiling and



writing other peoples' words. These Europeans are not even commentators, who write others' words, and add their own for clarification. Until Appleyard attempted his translation, European missionaries had never been auctors, writing their own words in prime place and adding others' for clarification. Aroga Bessong and Kenmogne (2007: 357) call this 'the general pattern [...] with missionaries being considered 'the translator' and the mother-tongue speakers as 'helpers.'

All of the relevant authorities were to receive a copy of '*The Kafir Bible*' (1866), as Appleyard reports:

The Meeting find that the communications now read, as well as those formerly received, in reference to Mr. Appleyard's Version, fully bear out the judgment upon that Version expressed by the Conference at Lovedale in January; and appoint Messrs. Govan, Soga, Birt and R. Ross, a Sub-Committee –Mr. Govan, convenor—with instructions to have these documents printed; to send one copy to Dr. Duff, a second to the British and Foreign Bible Society, and a third to Mr. Appleyard; and also to send a copy to every Missionary of every Denomination labouring among the Kafir-speaking population of this country.

An Apology (1867): 33

However it appears that the relevant authorities in Britain did not receive this pamphlet. There is no record of it extant in any of the archives which hold material relevant to Soga, to the UPC or the translation of the Bible. An exhaustive search through the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Holdings at the School for Oriental and African Studies in London, the B&FBS Archives at Cambridge University Library and the United Presbyterian Church at the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh did not result in a single copy of this document being procured. All records of the Pamphlet have been lost, bar one which was stored by chance at the National Library of South Africa, in Cape Town, South Africa. Aside from the formation of the Board of Revisers which was to oversee the revisions to Appleyard's text, no official or professional response came to the publication of the pamphlet, certainly there is no record of any official or written response to the critiques from the various boards and societies to which it was purportedly lodged in any of the archival holdings, beyond this one allusion which Gould adds to his letter to Bergne from Edinburgh on October 29 1866,

P.S. We have had some information by private letters to Dr. Duff. The promised collection of documents and evidence has not yet reached us from the Committee appointed in Caffraria to prepare it.

BSA/E3/1/4/4: 277

Without the knowledge of the context of the story, this is vague enough not to give any clue of its own.

It is possible that by some hand of fate, the pamphlet was never sent to Britain, and that the only version of the critiques of Appleyard's translation of the Bible into Xhosa came to them in Appleyard's own hand, in his rebuttal text An Apology for the Kafir Bible: Being a Reply to the Pamphlet Entitled, "Rev. J.W. Appleyard's Version Judged by Missionaries of Various Denominations and Others" (1867). Perhaps Appleyard intended to publish the pamphlet in its entirety as an addendum to his text, as one would expect. Until the discovery of the Pamphlet, the only version of the criticisms of Appleyard's translation was in his 1867 rebuttal, with its excerpted, extracted and truncated representations of the various critics' responses. There is but one extant copy of '*The Kafir Bible*' (1866), but several copies of Appleyard's rebuttal exist in different libraries across South Africa and Britain. Yet ironically An Apology (1867) was the vital clue discovered at the British Library which led to this important aspect of South African literary history, evidencing that literature and culture are political, and that their impact on society has political significance. The missionaries, it appears, attempted to delete Soga's participation and rewrite the affair from scratch.

Appleyard is assured in undated<sup>79</sup> private correspondence that none of this criticism will affect him: a letter from another secretary at the B&FBS, this time Jackson, states that Appleyard 'need not fear that anything will be done in this house to prejudice your work, or that any hasty conclusion will be formed on the subject of a new translation of the Scriptures in the Kafir language,' (Smith 1881: 89). In the same letter Appleyard is assured of Jackson's sympathy, and the promise made of 'this house' not to 'prejudice' his work seems to intimate that the troubles with the translation will be dealt with in a manner which will hold Appleyard's work as perfect. And indeed Chalmers informed Bryce Ross in a letter ten years later on 27 November 1877 that mention of the argument and the pamphlet had been expunged from the first edition of his biography of Soga, seemingly without his prior knowledge or consent:<sup>80</sup>

My life of Soga is published [...] It has been much compressed as Don will tell you. The story of Govan and the Bible Translation controversy which I wrote most carefully and other things are simply cut out. I think the first edition will soon be exhausted, so that if a second is required I shall see to it that it is published entire.

A 1000 edition was published and about 700 copies have been taken up by private subscriptions so that the book has not yet been placed in the hands of the publishers. The printers have done their work well the volume looks neat and attractive. Only 150 copies were sent out here.

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<sup>79</sup> Rev Jackson refers to Appleyard's letter of Jan 12<sup>th</sup> 1867, which puts the date of this letter as possibly March or April 1867.

<sup>80</sup> My requests to Hodder and Stoughton for the original manuscript have gone unheeded.

The second edition (Chalmers 1878) carries no further elucidation, however. Once Appleyard is assured that the whole affair will be hushed up, he is free to tell his version of the story; he states, in a letter which is undated but probably written in early August 1866 as it contains the extracts of a letter to Appleyard written on July 20 1866, that he is concerned that other missionaries have produced another translation of the Bible into Xhosa:

Complaints however come with a very ill grace from those who have often been requested to render assistance, but have declined to do so. The reason is now obvious. They have had a version of their own in contemplation, and almost as soon as the present translation appears, and long before they have had time to examine it as a whole, they pronounce it to be “ridiculously defective” and “unsatisfactory” with the object of inducing another Society to print one of their own, which in all probability, would be more mine than theirs after all.

BSA/E3/1/4/4: 257

The question of whether Soga had produced his own alternative is worthy of serious consideration. Soga was at his literary peak at this time. In 1865 he had written and published his essay ‘*What is the Destiny of the Kafir Race?*’, his firebrand, ethnographical and fiercely patriotic response to Rev Chalmers’ essay of the same title (Chalmers 1865), and delivered a lecture to the Young Men’s Christian Association in Cape Town on the 7<sup>th</sup> June 1866, at which ‘the attendance was numerous and influential’ (Williams 1983: 183). In 1866 Soga also completed and published the first part of Uhambo Lomhambi; this translation may have been the result of fifteen to twenty years worth of work, depending on whether Soga had started the work on his departure for Glasgow in 1846 as a means of keeping contact with Xhosa<sup>81</sup> and it is not inconceivable that Soga had been translating the Bible alongside this work as well. Would that these documents had been kept for corroboration of this view. In addition, and quite apart from a new translation, it seems that Soga had invented a new orthography for Xhosa, which is referred to in a letter from Sargeant to Appleyard on July 20 1866 in which he mentions ‘the proposed orthography.’<sup>82</sup> It would be very interesting to see these

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<sup>81</sup> Hofmeyr (2004: 114 - 116) recounts Soga’s relationship with The Pilgrim’s Progress but does not mention the dates of his working on the translation.

<sup>82</sup> The idea of an entirely new translation of the Kafir Scriptures, is in my estimation preposterous and unnecessary. And should it be printed, and published, it is doubtful whether it would be any improvement, or whether it would not be open to the same or even graver objections, especially should the proposed orthography be adopted, for that would render it positively useless beyond the voices of a few Mission Stations to which *that very objectionable orthography* is I believe confined. I decidedly think that the Scottish Bible Society will do well to pause, before it commits itself to any such work.

BSA/E3/1/4/4: 256. (my emphasis).

documents: however, their location is unknown, and these are the only references to Soga's possible translation which I have found. Appleyard certainly never mentions it again to anyone.

Perhaps this threat of being pipped to the post is the reason for which Appleyard seeks to protect his stature as an expert on Xhosa by opening the next 'successive' 'loop of signification' in his collation of his responses to all the critiques as An Apology for the Kafir Bible in such a combative mode. Appleyard produces a text of two hundred pages of a response containing excerpts and summaries of each critique, accompanied by a systematic refutation of each one. Whilst one of Appleyard's criticisms of '*The Kafir Bible*' is that the letters are basically repetitious, with the correspondents having repeated each others' list of defects with the translation without adding anything new, he too relies chiefly on four key defences in order to refute the pertinence of the critiques (An Apology (1867): 58, 111 especially). First, Appleyard notes that he always intended to meet with a group and work together as that group (An Apology (1867): 13), he did not consider it a finished work but as 'a *tentative* version' (28 emphasis in the original) although he clearly had and the B&FBS clearly indicated that it had chosen him and him alone to do it (An Apology (1867): 12), and neither the B&FBS nor Appleyard was interested in the participation of a group in a retranslation following his recall to England for the revision in 1860. Secondly he explains that the Bible itself is a difficult text with difficult philosophical messages which are not self-explanatory and cannot be apprehended in one reading, which explains why people claim not to understand the text on being asked to give their estimation of its meaning without that prior leadership by a priest or minister (An Apology (1867): 71, 121). Appleyard's third defence is his insistence on mannerist discourse which permits him to dismiss the work of all but three respondents who in his opinion have been polite enough in their comments on the matter to merit engagement. The objection of Rev Döhne is accepted because it is candid, and frank, which 'preserves us from the danger of misapprehending [his comments]. Candid criticism is acceptable, as well as necessary, to any one who desires to make his work as perfect as possible,' (An Apology (1867): 116). Likewise, Appleyard endorses the criticisms of C. Brownlee and J.C. Warner, Esq (An Apology (1867): 175 - 6) because these men are polite. The fourth and least expected of Appleyard's defences is offence. If Appleyard sees violence in the attack on him, he responds in like terms yet far stronger in sentiment. Appleyard shows no restraint in insulting the intelligence of those who authored the letters or critiques by lambasting the correspondents for their purported 'epistolary battery'. This serves to confirm the group's original fears when asked to comment on the interleaved translations

that their time and effort will be wasted as their responses will not be taken seriously (*'The Kafir Bible'* (1866): 2). This is what happened with their responses to the 1858 translations (*'The Kafir Bible'* (1866): 1).

Although Soga's role as group leader is never stated categorically, there are several reasons to deduce his leadership role. Appleyard lists Soga's two responses first of all his critics in An Apology (1867). This must have been a surprise to those in Scotland, who apparently had no prior inkling of Soga's involvement in the calls for a revision of the Bible. Soga contributed two papers where others have one, with some with addenda. As noted above, the first letter was written in late 1865, and the second in late 1866, and each is referred to as a unique document in Appleyard's response. The length of Appleyard's response to Soga's papers also underpins their importance, and consequently that of Soga. Appleyard devotes twenty-five pages (An Apology (1867): 42 - 77) to his response to Soga's letters, which together total five and a half pages of writing, roughly the same length and strength as the letters of Appleyard's other critics, making Appleyard's response to Soga's comments his most thorough. But perhaps most importantly, the vitriolic vehemence of Appleyard's response to Soga's critiques amounts to a massive public flaying and betrays Appleyard's fear of Soga's power as manifested in his critiques of Appleyard's work. Appleyard's refutations and repudiations are so strong that there is no question of Soga's precedence in the calls for Appleyard's text to be revised. Appleyard responds harshly to all his critics, but the viciousness of his treatment of Soga's work is particularly excessive. Appleyard has attempted thoroughly to deny that Soga has any right to respond to his work, seeking to destroy his reputation as a man of letters, a man of education, and a man of serious spiritual and religious beliefs, leaving only a burbling critic whose baseless and plaintiff wails deserve no attention at all. This Appleyard manages by employing a range of strategies to dispute and negate the validity of Soga's critiques and render him a novice in the study of words, Xhosa, English and Christianity.

As noted above, Soga receives the first rebuttal in the text. Appleyard explains:

The first series of papers is from two Missionaries of the United Presbyterian Church, the precedence being very properly given to the Rev Tiyo Soga, whom, no doubt all supposed to have the best knowledge of his own language.

An Apology (1867): 43

A most interesting result of this is that it allows us to view the gradations of degradation. The first step is a negation of Soga and thus an equalisation with Appleyard, achieved by disputing Soga's knowledge of Xhosa. Appleyard is about to prove that Soga does not have the 'best knowledge' of

Xhosa as he commences his attack on Soga's authority and precedence in matters of literacy in Xhosa. Indeed most unusually and paradoxically, Appleyard's insistence on Soga's equality enacts Soga's degradation, not his authority and a concomitant raise in status, as Soga is represented as an equal, globalised subject with exactly the same access to verbal acumen in Xhosa as any other man. Arguing by way of comparison, Appleyard asserts repeatedly that it would be impossible for Soga to know all the words in Xhosa, just as it is impossible for an English person to know all the words in English (An Apology (1867): 55), and asks whether we are 'to conclude, then, that every Kafir word which Mr. Soga has not heard is a *coined* word?' (An Apology (1867): 53) (emphasis in original). He argues further that Soga is but one of many speakers of the language, not the only authority. 'These "illustrations," [of coined words] however, go upon the assumption that no word is a Kafir word which Mr. Soga has not himself heard, an assumption which no one acquainted with the various changes to which all unwritten languages are incident will for a moment grant,' (An Apology (1867): 55); consequently Soga's critique can 'only show that his vocabulary is smaller than it ought to be' (An Apology (1867): 55). Although Soga is a mother-tongue speaker of Xhosa, completely literate in Xhosa and English, and a writer and a translator in his own right, as an equal Soga must take the bold step and humbly accept that this does not entitle him to consider that his work in and on the Xhosa language is automatically the best.

I have too much experience in linguistic studies to suppose that Mr. Soga cannot be mistaken in his critical views of the Kafir language. His opinion must be tested like that of any other person, as very few in the present day have much faith in a man's *ipse dixit*. Assertions have ceased to pass for facts, and if we wish to convince, we must argue and not declaim. Mr. Soga asserts, for instance, that "this translation is not in the language which the Kafirs themselves speak."

An Apology (1867): 43

Appleyard conflates race, nationality and culture, as if all people should have equal access to all languages and all knowledges. Appleyard alludes to the question of the authenticity of Soga's cultural identity, and as such he interrogates what that means and how it can be acquired or lost. Appleyard seems to imply that Soga's journeys to Glasgow and thus his absences from Southern Africa have robbed him of his authenticity as a Xhosa person, as if that identity could only be claimed if it were untainted by trans- or acculturated knowledge; yet the purity to which he asks Soga to adhere is as outdated as the ox-drawn plough is old by 1867. Nonetheless the audience for whom Appleyard wrote this text is largely British, and any reader who knew Soga personally would have in mind an image of Soga as an 'acculturated' Xhosa man wine and dined all over Glasgow and London, and may have concurred that Soga must have become an inauthentic Xhosa person as a result of his thorough British experience.

Gilroy describes the importance of the question of authenticity in black racial identities (Gilroy 1993: 94 - 110) and notes the distinction between 'original, folk or local expressions of black culture [which] have been identified as authentic and positively evaluated for that reason' and 'hemispheric or global manifestations of the same cultural forms [which] have been dismissed as inauthentic and therefore generally lacking in cultural or aesthetic value precisely because of their distance (supposed or actual) from a readily identifiable point of origin,' (Gilroy 1993: 96). This proximity to the periphery or the centre definitely seems to be at play in this subtextual question of Soga's legitimacy and authenticity as a Xhosa person. Gilroy's assertion is noteworthy:

The effects of racism's denials not only of black cultural integrity but of the capacity of blacks to bear and reproduce any culture worthy of the name are clearly salient here. The place prepared for black cultural expression in the hierarchy of creativity generated by the pernicious metaphysical dualism that identifies blacks with the body and whites with the mind is a second significant factor.

An Apology (1867): 97

Appleyard attempts a double flip with the question of authenticity as he also intimates that in refusing to add new words and philosophical precepts to Xhosa through the cultural cross-pollination which English and Christianity bring to Xhosa, Soga is nonetheless anti-modern. Soga's refusal to generate newness or keep up to date is transposed into a figuration of Soga as tribal, clinging to what-has-always-been, rather than what-might-have-been. This puts Soga at a double disadvantage as a victim of racism. He is too inauthentic to know what is real about Xhosaness, and because he is Xhosa he cannot accept newness from another culture as he is too firmly located there.

To complete Appleyard's postulation of Soga's inauthenticity as a Xhosa speaker, Appleyard compares Soga's response to those of other Xhosa speakers described as 'tolerably well informed' (An Apology (1867): 51), as opposed to Soga, who has a university degree and has been ordained as a minister. Of all these informants, agents or itinerants, only one is named, Charles 'Chaz' Pamla, who has responded to '*The Kafir Bible*' (1866) through a letter written with and sent by Rev R. Lamplough, the Wesleyan at Anshaw. Aside from Pamla, Appleyard has 'heard a Kafir preaching' (An Apology (1867): 72), a 'native school master' (An Apology (1867): 55), a 'Native Xhosa' (An Apology (1867): 59) and a 'Kafir preacher' (An Apology (1867): 61) all using the words which Soga denies as Xhosa words. Even the 'chiefs' at whose 'great place[s]' Appleyard claims he heard the usages of these words and heard them coined, are unnamed (An Apology (1867): 56). Yet Appleyard has a fondness for factitious coherence, as I shall argue below, and an absolute irreverence for the traditional Xhosa hierarchy, and I cannot account for his failure here to

co-opt the name of any chief who supported his claim to accuracy in his defence. It would be more in his character to remind Soga of a named chief's authority than to keep those names to himself out of a sense of deference. Not only is Soga's knowledge of Xhosa less than that of other Xhosa people, but also than that of Sargeant, Appleyard's fellow Wesleyan and perhaps the Wesleyan missionary who negotiated on Appleyard's side at the Conferences of the Missionaries. Sargeant 'read over all these passages in company with several Natives, and the conclusion arrived at was, that, upon the whole, the verbs were found to be tolerably correct so far as moods and tenses were concerned, and that, though some alteration in the phraseology might be advantageously made in a few of the verses, yet in the great majority of them nothing adverse either to grammar or idiom could be discovered,' (An Apology (1867): 58 - 59). Sargeant, as Appleyard explains to Bergne in a letter on the 8<sup>th</sup> August 1866, 'has been preaching in the Kafir language during the last 15 years, and had some acquaintance with it for ten years previously. His opinion, therefore, on the matter to which he refers in his letter, is entitled to some respect and consideration,' (BSA/E3/1/4/4: 253 - 259).

Appleyard denies the veracity of Soga's critiques in several places. He describes the accusation of defectiveness in the translation as 'a hallucination' (An Apology (1867): 61) and dismisses the critique by summarising it away (An Apology (1867): 58). He asserts that 'the great majority of the alleged mistakes would not be found to be errors at all,' (An Apology (1867): 78) and asserts most alarmingly, 'We have already seen some indications of the defectiveness of Mr. Soga's grammatical knowledge. We mean, of course, in respect to his mother-tongue, and not in respect to his English. Any mistakes in the latter may readily be excused,' (An Apology (1867): 59). Despite having previously used Soga's experience of Englishness as ammunition against Soga, Appleyard then proceeds to denigrate Soga's knowledge of English. In response to Soga's note that in 'the English language such changes are introduced by masters of undoubted authority—I believe this is so in all languages,' Appleyard says, 'This remark might have been spared, as it only proves that Mr. Soga has still a good deal to learn about the growth of language,' (An Apology (1867): 54).

It is evident however that Mr. Soga is not familiar with all grammatical subjects. This ought to make him the more cautious how he charges grammatical errors upon others, which he does not know how to explain or prove...

An Apology (1867): 57

Appleyard reframes the terms of Soga's discussion, invalidating Soga's control of his meaning even in written English. 'He means, no doubt, something very different from what his words say,' (An Apology (1867): 65). He dismisses Soga's observation that Appleyard should 'confine himself to



what he strictly knows of Xhosa':

It is hardly necessary to reply to such dicta as these. A better knowledge of the subject would have shown Mr. Soga, that any one who translates into such a language as the Kafir cannot do otherwise than coin or adapt words in certain cases, unless he wishes to leave a blank in his translation.

An Apology (1867): 53

This statement implies the universalisation of knowledge, as opposed to Appleyard's critiques of Soga's lack of knowledge, but reveals indeed that Appleyard would have had to leave blanks because he does not know the vocabulary which Soga insists that Xhosa already has and does not need coined for an effective translation. Appleyard states: 'We must conclude, therefore, that Mr. Soga means "precisely the opposite" of what he says,' (An Apology (1867): 67), and at times, simply redefines what Soga has said to suit his understanding.

It may be necessary, therefore, to remark, that Mr. Soga does not appear to mean that "verbs lose their moods and tenses in strange" modal and tensual "combinations," that is to say, in such formal combinations as are foreign to the language, though this is what his words really suggest, but that verbs are used in wrong moods and wrong tenses, and so lose the proper signification required in connection in which they are found.

An Apology (1867): 59

In this example Appleyard's coining of the word 'tensual' goes to prove that Soga is correct in noting Appleyard's use of adverbs in such formal combinations as are foreign to the language: the correct word here should be 'temporal'.<sup>83</sup>

Appleyard also asserts the importance of a literal translation over an idiomatic translation, in order to refute the critiques that he is not able to render the idiomatic Xhosa correctly. The oral/written debate so important to present day studies is here important proof of the mastery of an oral culture. Appleyard is dependent on the status of Xhosa as an oral language to sustain his defence because there are non-finite vocabularies and no dictionaries with exact denotative meanings to which others can refer, other than those with extremely limited vocabularies written by Boyce and other early missionaries. Furthermore, the instability of the oral language lends Appleyard's vocabulary credence as he inadvertently proves Soga's case in showing that the dialects of the Nguni languages differ:

Many Natives know very little beyond the words which are in common use in their own particular tribe or locality. There may be words in other tribes and other localities which are not familiar to them. As with words, so with the meanings and usages of words.

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<sup>83</sup> Dorrit Cohn remarks: 'The departure from the tensual norm...' and, 'This tensual logic binds the language of fictional characters...' (1999: 98). This I can only assume is also a mistake.

The same word may be used in two or more tribes, and yet not always in the same sense. One tribe may have kept to the primary meaning, another may have discarded the primary and adopted the secondary, and another may have preserved both meanings. As the Kafir Bible is intended for all the tribes which speak the Kafir language, it would be folly to attempt to keep its language closely confined within the limits of one small tribe, and thus make it a dialectic version instead of a general one.

An Apology (1867): 48

Interestingly, Aroga Bessong and Kenmogne comment on just this issue:

In Africa, as in other parts of the world, the notion of language is not easy to define. In the twentieth century, it was observed that, in different areas of Africa, there were large language complexes made of related languages or dialects. [...] Because of the degree of inter-comprehension among these language complexes, a standard or 'union version' was proposed. Thus, instead of adopting one dialect as the base, as is most often the case, these union versions attempted to create a standard speech, using common words and phrases from speech communities. Though this created an artificial form of the language, relative success was achieved in some projects [...] Understandably, in these projects, little attention was paid to sociolinguistic factors, not well known at the time. However, not taking these factors into account hindered this work. Indeed, several of these attempts failed due to political and social opposition among users. [...] But this union version was seen as an almost political threat since these languages cut across existing country boundaries. Those promoting these versions did not take into account the profound relationship between language and society, elucidated later by sociolinguists, which has become an important factor in Bible translation in Africa today. [...] Ignoring the importance of sociolinguistic factors in Bible translation can have truly damaging effects. A case in point is the missionary Congo Swahili version: [the work is] filled with morphosyntactic and lexical forms that are poorly understood if not incomprehensible to most Swahili speakers of that region.

Aroga Bessong and Kenmogne 2007: 328

Appleyard resorts to defaming Xhosa people as indigent and indolent, inadvertently revealing himself to be haranguing, as unable to understand the responses which are given him, and also unable to see that people do consider his quest for knowledge important as they do try, at least for a while each time, to provide him with the answers which he seeks:

Natives soon get tired of being closely questioned on matters of language, and, whether from intellectual exhaustion, or from stolid indifference, or from some other cause, often fail just at the point where information is most necessary to lead to a right conclusion.

An Apology (1867): 48

In proving Soga's inability with grammar, Appleyard employs factitious coherence to obfuscate the crises Soga has identified, which is designed to confuse readers in England who are not in a position to tell whether the translation is 'really good' (Morgan BSA/E3/1/4/0: 202 Sept 17 1859) or not, only to garner that Appleyard is so thoroughly adept with English grammar that it is likely that he is adept with Xhosa grammar too. Appleyard is not shy to call a verb a verb, identifying

adversative conjunctions (An Apology (1867): 60), and in his discussion of copula and predicate (An Apology (1867): 64), noting that '[t]heir being of the same form in the dative case is a mere accident of grammar,' (An Apology (1867): 50) and that any 'difference between two nouns derived respectively from the active and passive voices is just the difference between the objective and the subjective' (An Apology (1867): 56). Clearly he wishes to imply that Soga does not know these terms, as he lauds his superior grasp of grammatical conventions over Soga, at times renaming parts of speech which he believes Soga has misidentified:

At all events, the twenty examples referred to by Mr. Soga to show "this objectionable use of the verb" fail to prove it, for there is not a single "independent sentence" among them. Every one of them has a retrospective reference, for in each case the particle OUN is used, which always denotes *sequence*, and is frequently employed in narratives to express transition or continuation, like the English *then, thereupon, &c.*

An Apology (1867): 54 - 55

More tellingly, Appleyard explains that his use of certain syllables which Soga queries as not Xhosa comprises 'expletive particles with a conjunctive force' (An Apology (1867): 57). This means they form joining sounds.<sup>84</sup> The SOED describes an expletive as 'an oath, a meaningless exclamation' which does not carry any meaning but is 'introduced merely to make up a required quantity; esp. of a word or phrase serving to fill out a sentence or metrical line,' (2004: 895). Appleyard subtextually admits that he is adding to words letters which do not carry any meaning. The word 'expletive' refers to 'a person who or thing which serves merely to fill up space' (2004: 895), and of course the meaning which more people would know, as it refers to swear words, which are found distasteful in polite company. This is a further form of mannerist critique which serves to distance the reader from the text. The jargon and technical vocabulary is for the expert audience of the Ethnological society, yet there is only one person in the world who is able to understand as a full expert in both languages and countenance Appleyard's response: Soga. Appleyard's explanation of his derivation of 'selisha' (An Apology (1867): 53) seems perfectly reasonable, unless it is known that it is not true that merely to affix 'isha' to the end of a word is enough to allow the neologism grammatical correctness.

Appleyard calls into question Soga's competencies as a Christian scholar as he extrapolates Soga's response about the incomprehensibility of the text from a grammatical to a religious inquiry as to whether anyone ever understands the Bible. Appleyard attempts to show that Soga is grappling not with the language, but with the complexity of philosophy and ideology which the Bible carries.

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<sup>84</sup> These 'joining sounds' are a feature of Afrikaans too, for example the 's' in 'verbindingsklank' is the sound which enables the two roots 'verbinding' and 'klank' to be uttered palatably.

Has not Mr. Soga heard of English people what have read their Bible for years, and yet at last acknowledge that they never understood it, till they sought and found the “wisdom” of God? [...] If we attentively read the second chapter of St. Paul’s First Epistle to the Corinthians, there will be no difficulty in perceiving how it is that a man may know the words of the language employed, and yet not comprehend the meaning conveyed by them.

An Apology (1867): 44

Appleyard also quotes from a letter received ‘during the last year from an experienced Kaffirland Missionary’:

I have been in the habit of having our people coming to see me from time to time for information on any passage of Scripture which seemed to puzzle them greatly; yet never in a single instance do I remember the difficulty to have been from the passage itself—the language they have always well understood—but it was the *interpretation* of the passage; and in all my conversations with the people I have always found that they have well understood the language of the translations (emphasis in original).

An Apology (1867): 45

This is absolutely unsubstantiated and uncorroborated; there is no proof that such a letter exists, or of who wrote it. In response to Soga’s appellation of the Epistles as ‘dark as midnight’, Appleyard postulates that the

darkness referred to by Mr. Soga [...] may be said of either the Greek or the English Gospels and Epistles. Are there not many readers of either or both of these who find themselves perplexed as much as Mr. Soga seems to be with the Kafir? [...] The darkness, therefore, complained of in the Kafir Epistles, may have its origin in the *mind* of the reader, rather than in the language employed.

An Apology (1867): 45

Appleyard uses this statement to commence a depiction of all religious verses as ambiguous and difficult. He then insinuates that Soga’s faulty Christian knowledge is the reason for Soga’s incomprehension of Appleyard’s translation: ‘What idea Mr. Soga has of this passage in the English version does not appear, but he seems to have misunderstood it in some way, or he would hardly have considered the Kafir a faulty reading,’ (An Apology (1867): v64). Not only is this extrapolation a denial of the terms of reference used by Soga, it also undermines his authority as a scholar of the Bible and an authority on Biblical meaning. This denigration of Soga’s mind and his intellect, coupled with his ill-health and the illnesses which routinely laid him up and stopped him from preaching begin to take on new connotations, of mental instability. The darkness comes to refer to lunacy, and uncontrollable sentiments. At the same time, Soga’s involvement in protracted legal discussions over the area of land which he would use for his mission station with Kreli and his people, which eventually was Tutura, is routinely posited as Soga’s major undertaking at this time.

Appleyard also picks out the word ‘peculiarity’ against which to assert his authority: ‘May not the fact that it is a translation have something to do with this “peculiarity,” - more especially as it is a translation of a Book containing facts and doctrines which are altogether novel to the Kafir mind?’ (An Apology (1867): 47, see also 63). The precise mind to which Appleyard refers in this question may not be Soga’s, but the racial slur against him is obvious for all to see. Unfortunately Appleyard treats this critique with a humorous and comedic response. This impacts on Soga’s ability to lead his flock. It is a defamation of his abilities and his character. This is the key to Soga’s posthumous treatment: from thence forth, Soga’s ‘Christian’ equality was denied and negated, his place as a priest amongst priests gradually eroded until there will be no more, until the appellation ‘Reverend’ will be removed from the name ‘Tiyo Soga’ and history would cover over his place.

Further evidence of the ‘loops of signification’ - the term De Kock (1994(b): 76) uses to refer to an inability to control the meaning of one’s utterance in another person’s clutches - occurs in Appleyard’s work when Soga insists that, ““This baffles all translation, and all interpretation! what [sic] is meant by it I don’t know,” and Appleyard replies ‘ An honest and naïve confession, but not a very creditable one to a person who professes to know any thing of the philosophy of human language,’ and equates Soga with a ‘heathen Greek’ who ‘might have said the very same,’ (An Apology (1867): 68). This failure to engage with the terms of Soga’s discussion through the replacement of the meaning of those terms by the philosophy of human language rather than the translation itself is that slippage of signification which removes the power from Soga and hands it to Appleyard. Appleyard disputes the terms of Soga’s critique (An Apology (1867): 44) extrapolating to the penetrability of the philosophy and ideology imbued within that language Soga’s response from the verbal question of a translation which is meaningful in that it transmits meaning accurately to one:

The “theological interpretation” of the words in a verse of the English Bible, I suppose is equivalent to the “meaning” of a similar combination of words in the Kafir Bible. Are not “the cases exactly parallel?” Why should the Kafir Bible be accounted an exception to a general rule? Can any one suppose that the Kafir Bible ought to be plainer to a Kaffir, than the English Bible is to an Englishman?

An Apology (1867): 44

Soga anticipates Appleyard’s response when he notes in his first letter of critique that in ‘the English Bible the language is so vernacular and idiomatic, that, although you may not catch the theological interpretation of a verse, you have no mistake about the words themselves,’ (‘The Kaffir Bible’ (1866): 8). This furthermore shows Soga as a novice, as someone with only partial

understanding of issues, as someone who is not Appleyard's equal in his experience and depth of perception. Indeed, language can obfuscate meaning in any linguistic system, but here I believe Soga to be referring to the notion of language as the purveyor of information and the conduit of ideas, which ideas Soga believes are not being transmitted by Appleyard's use of Xhosa.

Borrowing from Soga's discourse and quoting from it, as with the other critics, seems to show that Appleyard has read and considered each word, and these extracts lend Appleyard's rebuttal authenticity and credibility. Yet Appleyard displays a persistent lack of attention to what Soga is talking about. Never once does Appleyard accept that Soga may be sincere; he occasionally notes that he 'may have been mistaken' (*An Apology* (1867): 56). Soga is never taken as an authority, never is any deference to him shown. Ironically, Appleyard will neither tolerate a mistake of Soga's in the incorrect rendering of English idioms. Whether castigating Soga for doing the same or refusing to accept as valid, he responds in the same principled fury at any mistakes in English of Soga as Soga has of Appleyard's usages of Xhosa. He picks out Soga's purportedly incorrect idiomatic usage of 'served out' in 'mother tongue is served out to them by a foreigner' and 'shooting a fly with a cannon'(42 in which case the mistake Soga has made makes is to use the homophone 'canon', which given his ecclesiastic tradition is hardly a terrible one.

Instead, Appleyard insists on his own authority. He is the arbiter of both biblical and Xhosa interpretations, which occasionally spills over into patronising terms such as when he states that Soga 'seems to have acted pretty freely on this doctrine in the paper now before us, for it abounds with blunders from which a little caution would probably have saved him' (*An Apology* (1867): 57). In fact, it turns out that Appleyard is the one with 'the best knowledge' of Xhosa, although he plays victim, as he does on page 51: 'But all this and a great deal more, is passed over by Mr. Soga, in order not to weaken his attempt to disparage my knowledge of the language.'

Appleyard's final attack on Soga is absolutely bloody and is worth quoting at length:

Some of the errors noted by Mr. Soga are probably merely "literal" ones. Others may arise from a difference in the rendering of the original into the Kafir, as compared with that which has been given in the English version. Some, again, may consist in new words, or in new applications of words already in use, which have been adopted in order to express novel or unusual ideas, and without which no translation could be effected. In calling these things "errors," Mr. Soga betrays the want of any proper acquaintance with the subject on which he assumes to exercise the office of a judge. The extreme subjectiveness of his mind, as exhibited in many of his preceding remarks, utterly disqualifies him for pronouncing so dictatorially as he has chosen to do on the matters under review.

Here is a textual struggle over words, over orthography, lexicography, over the setting of letters on the page. This textual struggle constituted the ultimate threat in words to stable notions of authorship, authority and prerogative, and ultimately constituted a threat to the superiority, even supremacy, of Appleyard's voice in discursive and textual construction and of the auspices for whom he worked. It is a struggle on a Hegelian scale – as good a striking back as Frederick Douglass reports with Edward Covey (Douglass 2009: 68 - 70). It is a struggle of two men pitted exactly as equals against each other, but in which the prevailing ideology privileges one man with authority: the white man from the colonial centre. Soga has at his disposal all the same means and methods of cultural argumentation as Appleyard: a thorough knowledge of Xhosa, English, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, as well as Sotho, and he knows how to stop the discussions. As such, Soga resists the binary opposition of English – Other. Not only that, Soga organised against such binaries, systematically using the tools available to him to collect and combine perspectives and resources.

Thus began a long tradition of insulting Soga's knowledge of Xhosa, which continues to this day and which historical research is only just beginning to rectify. Despite the hours spent, despite braving the disparagement, the audacity of veracity is not rewarded with valour or glory. Perhaps the reason that this story is subjugated and so invisible is that this must be the first time that a black non-native person has challenged the authority of a white European in print – talking back to the European philological master, Appleyard. However English is not the first language of Soga, unlike Frederick Douglass, and Alexander Crummell and Edward Blyden. His position as an equal is even less plausible than theirs as they are thought to be able to express themselves fully within the English language, a language which Soga only began speaking when he was fifteen years old. Yet he is uncommonly well versed in English. He is not only a university graduate, but holds a theological degree. Moreover he is fluent not only in English as a language, but also in English as a set of social mores, and is accustomed to the United Kingdom, with its purported magnanimity of debate, of orature, so closely aligned to that of the traditional Xhosa chiefs and their counsellors. Soga understands that the communication between the missionaries ought to be two-way, and that he must be heard, in the spirit of good sportsmanship, of comitatus. This textual struggle extended to the development of the transcription and control and authority of Xhosa. It extends likewise to the struggle for nomenclature, for knowledge systems; it is not unique that the translation occurred at the same time as the reduction of Xhosa to a written language, although the strain of confining the

phonics of Xhosa to a Latin alphabet is noteworthy. Instead of advancing the version of civilisation which they purposed, Soga would topple the hegemony by the simple act of ordinary deconstruction, accusing those chosen by the B&FBS and decrying their inability to effect the work which has been asked of them. Did it kill either or both? Would it have contributed to Soga's depression? Soga died in 1871, four and a half years after this controversy became widespread. His growing disillusionment and despondency, contributing to 'preacher's throat', may well have brought on his early death. Appleyard died on April 4<sup>th</sup> 1874 (Smith 1881: 108) and this work is said to have been what killed him.

"We ourselves," says one who wrote of him after his death, "have seen him in his study at Mount Coke engaged in this undertaking for weeks consecutively, from early morning until night had well set in; and have noticed that at such times his strong mental powers have been concentrated upon his work with an intensity that was almost painful to witness. Yet at this time, notwithstanding the severe strain perpetually, so to speak, upon his intellectual faculties, he constantly preached in one language or the other either at Mount Coke, Fort Murray, Tamacha, or King William's Town. [...]."

Smith 1881: 66

There is far more at stake for Appleyard than the legibility of a text. The reputation and status derived for the first missionary society to translate and publish the Bible into Xhosa is vitally important here. Soga may have sought the glory which came to be associated with the translation of the Bible.

England owes its first complete Bible to Wm. Tyndale; Kafirland owes its first Bible to John W. Appleyard. The latter is a small country compared with the former, and to give the Bible to a few thousand barbarous people is a trifling thing compared with giving it to the British nation; yet a man who lived to accomplish that object will be spoken of hereafter as the Tyndale of that land, and future generations will honour and respect his name.

Smith 1881: 64

Appleyard's version is still accepted as the first official translation of the Bible into Xhosa. In 2009 the Bible Society held the 150th anniversary of the publication of the Bible in Xhosa, according the status of translator solely to Appleyard, and thereby discounting all controversy following the publication of this translation.

By 1853, he [Appleyard] was established at the Mount Coke mission station. One of the most precious possessions there, which he brought with him, was a printing press. The translation and printing of the Old Testament books was undertaken in sections. Several translators worked on the project, but Appleyard translated most of the books himself. He also revised the work of the other translators. On September 1, 1859, an entry in his diary reads, "Today the printing of the edition has been finished, so that we now have the entire Scriptures in the [Xhosa] language."

<http://intranet2.biblesocieties.org/intranet/news/comments.php?id=700>



This confusion of the dates seems to show that the revision happened prior to 1859, not after 1864. History has indeed covered this story completely. It is also worth noting that whilst Soga has been stripped of every vestige of his spiritual status, Appleyard is accorded this spiritual status wherever and whenever is possible: the title of his memoir Memoir of the Rev J.W. Appleyard – Wesleyan Missionary in south Africa, The Author of A Kafir Grammar, and one of the Translators of the Sacred Scriptures into that language (Smith: 1881). No such title is accorded Soga; no such veneration attends his travails.

The opportunity to profit from the sale of Bibles seems unlikely, given the protracted debates over who would pay for the printing and binding, and how much the editions and independent books would sell for. ‘The sale of separate portions of Scripture would be limited, and would not perhaps cover much more than half the cost price if any were to be given away and the rest sold cheaply,’ notes Appleyard in a letter to J.B.Bergne on August 27, 1869 (BSA/E3/1/4/7: 71 - 2).<sup>85</sup> This debate was to continue long after Soga’s death. Chalmers wrote to Findlestone on March 12 1874 (242 - 243) detailing arrangements for printing:

The Board expresses the hope, that as you have hitherto undertaken the work of supplying the Kafir with the Bible, that you will still manifest the same liberality in this instance by advancing the amount stated in the enclosed memo, at the same time retaining the right, which you have hitherto preserved of the B&F. Bible Society being the publishers.

BSA/E3/1/4/7: 1874: 241

The nature of this ‘right’ which the B&FBS owns, and of which Revd RB Findlestone is the nominal guardian, is unknown. Is this the right of ownership of the material, which precipitates Soga’s and others’ express vehemence about their own involvement in the translation?

The final loop of signification occurred after An Apology (1867) was published. In a letter from Govan to Appleyard on August 8<sup>th</sup> 1868 Govan notes:

You are perhaps aware that at a Meeting held at King William’s Town a few weeks ago, it was resolved that answers by the several authors of the Lovedale Pamphlet to your “Apology” should be published, and that arrangements were made for this purpose. How far these arrangements have been carried out I do not know.

BSA/E3/1/4/6: 159

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<sup>85</sup> See also a letter from the Rev J.W. Appleyard to Rev C. Jackson, Mount Coke March 26 [1870]. Recd May 16 1870: (BSA/E3/1/4/7: 252 – 3); a letter from the Revd. J.W. Appleyard to the Secretary [of the B&FBS] Mount Coke, Caffraria, April 9, Recd. June 2 1859 BSA/E3/1/4/0: 122 - 123.

Govan continued on Aug 22 1868:

I may add that he has given directions that the printing of our Answers to your “Apology” which had been begun should be stopped.

BSA/E3/1/4/6: 161

This was most probably in an effort to continue with the formation of the Board of Revisers. Coldham explains:

The Bible of 1864, which came to be known as “Appleyard’s Version” met with much criticism, and for a time it seemed likely that rival translations would be prepared. In September 1868, however, at the suggestion of the B.F.B.S., a Board of Revisers, representing the various Missions concerned, was appointed to revise the existing version. This Board consisted of the following representatives: H.R. Woodruffe, J.W. Appleyard, Charles Brownlee, L.M.S. B. Ross, Tiyo Soga, U.P.C.S.M., A.Kropf, and H. Meyer, Moravian M.

Coldham 1966: 739

This idea had been noted by Rev George Morgan, Secretary of the B&FBS and based in Cape Town, who had written to Mr H. Knolleke from Cape Town on September 17 1859:

I presume that Mr Appleyard will seek to obtain the opinion of the most competent Kafir scholars belonging to the several missionary societies, before he prints his translation of the whole Bible. Considering the sums that have already been voted by the British and Foreign Bible Society for printing Kafir Scriptures, its friends and supporters in this country will regard with peculiar interest whatever may be done in this matter. There can be no doubt that a really good translation is much wanted.”

BSA/E3/1/4/0: 202

The fact that Appleyard is asked ‘to obtain the opinion of the most competent Kafir scholars belonging to the several missionary societies’ before printing the translation is significant, as Soga had faced the major issue in 1864 of the constitution of a committee of revisers after ‘[f]ive thousand copies of the Old Testament and [t]en thousand copies of the New Testament’ (Smith 1881: 79) had been published in London. However, Appleyard omitted to effect this information-gathering. Some of the missionaries, most notably and most particularly Govan, reasserted their friendship with Appleyard, perhaps in an effort to undo the bad feelings which had now fostered between them all, especially the offence taken by Appleyard. Appleyard formally forgave Govan in An Apology, Govan was principal of Lovedale at this time (Starfield 2010: 180).<sup>86</sup>

Soga notes that ‘The Board of Revisers sat early on Saturday the 3d [April 1869] -- Contd its

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<sup>86</sup> ‘Lovedale’s spirit and history were largely embodied in its first three principals: Reverends Govan (1841-70), Stewart (1870-1905), and Henderson (1906 - 32) so perhaps this status somewhat beggared his pardon in Appleyard’s eyes.

sittings from this day to Saturday the 17th Apl -- Closed at 10ck' (Williams 1983: 40).<sup>87</sup> This was the first meeting of the Board, and the only one which Soga attended. He was due to attend the next one in 1870 but could not make it due to ill-health. It is interesting that Coldham notes, 'After a time J.W. Appleyard and H. Woodruffe resigned,' (1966: 739), because Appleyard's name is still given in all of the translations held at Cambridge University. Of significance in this debate is that in time Appleyard's version of the Bible was rewritten; twice it was revised, and eventually the whole Bible was retranslated into Xhosa, bearing out the critiques that Soga mentioned in his writing about Appleyard's translation. In 1889 the first revision was printed, and in 1929 a second revision was printed, penned by some of the most famous Xhosa writers; Walter Rubusana, JH Soga, DD Jabavu, BJ Ross, amongst others.<sup>88</sup> 'In 1967 the Xhosa-speaking churches requested the Bible Society to start with a new translation and not just a further revision.'

The fact that Soga has been so singularly written out of this story, that his name does not appear in any of the Memoirs about him, shows that he has committed the arch-sin: he has moved outside of the networks which have conferred upon him the only status which they believe had power in Soga's life: that of a minister within a brotherhood of ministers. Soga suffered the removal of the authority of his place in the fraternity. Stripped of reverence, his position as 'instigator' means letters were lost or destroyed, with the added systematic deletion of his voice and impact. Perhaps this is also why the history of Soga's extensive education has been written out and replaced. Soga's brethren and fellow missionaries did not entertain the complex status of Soga as the pre-eminent translator and critic of translations into Xhosa from English despite his inimitable qualifications as a native speaker of Xhosa, a graduate of Glasgow University and the Theological College, the translator of *The Pilgrim's Progress* and a keen transcriber of countless Xhosa stories, and published author of those stories and opinion pieces in *Indaba*, which work brought Soga even closer to Xhosa idiomatic turns of phrase. They see only that he has acted against one of their own in an organised and systematic manner, to assert his alternative version of the reality. In today's communication register we can say that he perhaps saw the situation as a flat organisational

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<sup>87</sup> The column 'Izinto Ngezinto' in *Isigidimi SamaXosa* of December 1 1870 (Vol 1 No 3) notes: 'Intlanganiso yabacokisi bezi Balo Ezingcwelele ngokwa Maxosa. Lomsebenzi uhanjiswa lwogumbi letyalike yama Presbyterian E-Qonce. Kulo ngtlanganiso kwakuko U-Mr. Charles Brownlee, no revs. J.Q. Applyeard, Tiyo Soga, J. Calmers, Bryce Ross, A. Kropf, No T.W. Green. Ngoku baguqula I-Gospel KaJohane,' (10).

<sup>88</sup> Starfield (2008: 175) also notes that Rubusana was in Glasgow to translate the Bible into Xhosa. She sources H Selby Msimang, "'Notes from Autobiography", p.8' SOAS Archive, London University, MS380077.

structure, whereas they saw it as a tall organisational structure. Historians and literary historians have continued to describe Soga as an Anglophile, highlighting the specificity of Soga's travels and studies in the United Kingdom as his foremost achievements, whilst simultaneously downplaying Soga's verbal acumen and his qualifications. This debate is exemplified in the title of Bickford-Smith's 2011 paper, 'African Nationalist or British Royalist? The Complicated Case of Tiyo Soga.' De Kock uses Soga to explore the effects of English and Englishness on his identity, thereby negating the importance and strength of Soga's maternal culture in his life; he describes Soga as an acquiescent agonist, a subversive subservient whose focus was on the power of the Anglocentric government. De Kock fails to represent Soga as a master of his life or of his writings in any way. Attwell has described Soga as a transculturator, portraying Soga as a signifier of Enlightenment too absorbed by English and Western ideals and too interested in their amalgamation with African and Xhosa culture to be fully rooted in his Xhosa identity, let alone to struggle wholeheartedly for the equality of African or precedence of Xhosa culture globally. Masilela (2007) is the only literary critic to perceive and focus on Soga's radical stance, but he alike conceives of Soga as a modernist who strove to incorporate the Western ideals which this thesis has argued that Soga struggled against into Xhosa culture, and he has not written with Soga as a lone focus, but on H.I.E.Dhlomo.

Appleyard undoubtedly saw himself as Soga's superior, and when he later contests the criticisms raised against the text, his anger with Soga, and those others whose contributions were included in the Pamphlet, overshadows the humility exemplified in the rebuttals. This may also explain why Soga was posthumously all but stripped of his religious title, Reverend, as if he were not deserving of it, as if it were somehow fake and somehow indecently acquired, as if he were the fraud; he is consistently referred to as 'Tiyo', the use of his first name a reminder of his boyhood status. The fact that all of Reverend Soga's sons also became missionaries (Masilela 2010: 246 and Njeza 2000: 99) is even more striking when considered in this light, because it means that Soga was utterly inspirational in this regard, and the loss of Soga's reverence is all the more tragic.

## Chapter Six: Ventriloquism

This chapter seeks to read Chalmers, assessing his reading and writing of Soga. The Reverend John Aitken Chalmers, son of the Reverend William Chalmers of the Glasgow African Missionary Society who settled in the Tyumi Valley and became the ‘first friend and preacher’ (Chalmers 1872: 7) of Tiyo Soga, was the only person to write extensively on Soga in the nineteenth century,<sup>89</sup> publishing two biographies of Soga which are held as seminal in the study of Soga’s life. Chalmers’ first biography was an article simply entitled ‘Tiyo Soga’ published in January 1872 in the *Cape Monthly Magazine* (Vol 4: 1 – 24), and is reproduced here in its entirety as Appendix K. This preliminary sketch forms the skeleton of his second and more widely accessible text Tiyo Soga: A Page of South African Mission Work, a work of 450 pages published in two exact replications in 1877 and 1878. Chalmers’ biographies are introductions to the history of Tiyo Soga, and Chalmers’ content has formed the basis for all ensuing biographies of Soga. Cousins’ biography of Soga, Tiyo Soga: The Model Kafir missionary (1897), published with the new title From Kaffir Kraal to Pulpit in the second edition (1899), was based almost exclusively on Chalmers’ texts, to the point that De Kock (1994(b): 42) describes Cousins’ texts as ‘plagiarised’. Williams describes both Chalmers’ texts as ‘indispensable’ to his biography of Soga (1978: xii). Since then a range of biographers has based their work either directly on Chalmers or indirectly, through Cousins or Williams.<sup>90</sup> Only one study of Chalmers’ writing has previously been undertaken, that of De Kock who has included a brief analysis of Chalmers’ use of rhetorical tropes in Chalmers’ representation of Soga in two texts (1994(b) and 1996(b)).

Until the early 1970s, Chalmers’ work was the only source of information on Soga, the handwritten Journal having been misplaced and found by Ashbury, as I have mentioned in Chapter 1: *Literature Review* (see Appendix R). Yet Chalmers’ texts contain comparatively little information about Soga: there is information about the history of the Eastern Cape, the customs of Xhosa life, and a great deal of description, but very little about Soga himself. This chapter will investigate Chalmers’ style and narrative technique for the ways in which he has constructed Soga’s identity insofar as these relate to my thesis on Soga’s textual struggles, and his memory and status in the cultural history of South Africa. I will find that Chalmers has written not a biography but a short story, and then a full-length novel, in the romantic adventure tradition, and that Chalmers’ figuration of Soga

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<sup>89</sup> Other writers with words on Soga are Malan (1872) and van Wangenann (1868).

<sup>90</sup> Biographies on Soga include Shepherd (1955), Williams (1979), Khabela (1996), Millard (1999) Njeza (2000) and Ndletyana (2010).

is as fictional an account as could be. Chalmers' texts contain information about the background and context of Chalmers' life in the Eastern Cape in a customs and manners vein. They present descriptions of cultural practices which contrive to create a context from which it is possible to gauge Soga's thoughts and which are dependent on the two Enlightenment fetishes associated with blackness, those of the Wild Man and the Noble Savage, in order to establish the Eastern Cape and its manners and customs as a parallel world. White (1978: 183; 191 - 193) remarks that these two fetishes are not binary opposites of each other. Even though both tropes are connoted with blackness and appear to be contrasts in their depiction of the state of blackness, they are related not to each other but remain individually in a binary relationship to tropes of whiteness. Following Reinhardt's (2002) reading of ventriloquism, I shall investigate the ways in which Chalmers' words are inserted into Soga's mouth as 'an appropriation [...] to verbalize the meaning of the fugitive's silence [...] to speak [the fugitive's] anguish, to interpret [his] longings' (Reinhardt 2002: 103). Although Chalmers presented his work as part of a historical project, positivistic and literary theorists of history's epistemological status agree that as regards 'the interpretative element that might appear in a historical account of the past, they are inclined to identify this with the historian's efforts to fill in gaps in the record by speculation, to infer motives of historical agents, and to assess the impact, influence, or significance of empirically established facts with respect to other segments of the historical record,' (White 1978: 55).

Chalmers' first biography of Soga was written after Soga died, and Chalmers was asked in his capacity as Soga's brother in the United Presbyterian Church to write a biography of Soga for the *MRUPC* (Chalmers 1872: Preface) which was then published by the *Cape Monthly Magazine* (Vol 4: 1 – 24). Chalmers was considered most well placed to document Soga's life because of his purported lifelong proximity to Soga, however this chapter will argue that Chalmers had virtually nothing to do with Soga until Chalmers joined Soga at Mgwali on 30<sup>th</sup> November 1861 (M.A. Chalmers 1892: xxiv)<sup>91</sup> to minister alongside him for the United Presbyterian Church, less than ten years before Soga's death: the association of these two men totals only twenty years split across Soga's life of 42 years. Other people were in closer contact with Soga, for example William Ritchie Thompson and the Ross brothers, with whom Soga was classmate, fellow sojourner to Glasgow in 1846 - 8, and a lifelong friend and confidante (Williams 1978: 13) or William Chalmers Jnr, elder brother to Chalmers, who was also closer in age to Soga. Chalmers notes that he and Soga were raised within two miles of each other (1872: 3), a distance shorter on the page than on

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<sup>91</sup> Chalmers set sail for Mgwali from Scotland early in August 1861 and arrived in Tyumi in around October 1861 (M.A. Chalmers 1892: xxiii).

the road, although the inference that Soga's and Chalmers' fathers had frequent cause for dealings, and therefore that their children had the opportunity to socialise often, is noteworthy. Following this early association, Soga and Chalmers were both present in the Eastern Cape for eighteen months between October 1848 and 1850.<sup>92</sup> They were both in Glasgow for the duration of Soga's second visit for six years between July 1851 and April 1857, and they were both in the Eastern Cape for almost ten years between November 1861 when Chalmers returned as a newly ordained and newly married minister in the UPC and Soga's death in 1871, but the amount of time that Soga spent in close quarters with Chalmers even whilst in the same country is negligible: Soga was at Uniondale with Rev. Niven for a few months in 1849 – 1850 (Khabela 1996: 17) and was in exile from Xhosa and white communities (Khabela 1996: 17). Once Chalmers was installed as minister at the Bolo/Thomas River after 1864 there were again long periods in which the two men did not see each other. After Soga moved to Tutura in 1868 he was seldom in contact with Chalmers before his death in 1871. Soga kept no correspondence with Chalmers and barely mentioned Chalmers in his letters to friends or his handwritten Journal except when ecumenical matters pertained, and then in the exact same tone of voice with the same detail as for other missionaries. Chalmers' article, '*What is the Destiny of the Kafir Race?*' is assumed to have put a strain on their relationship, which implies a closeness between them subject to distancing. This thesis has argued conversely that between 1864 and 1868 the relationship between Soga and Chalmers was at its most collaborative, with Chalmers and Soga combined in their attempt to aid in the refutation of Appleyard's translation of the Bible and establish an interdenominational body to retranslate the Bible, as has been documented in Chapter Five: *The Audacity of Veracity*. Chalmers' and Soga's letters to the press provide their opinions on the subject of the destiny of Xhosa people, a subject about which both felt passionately, but I believe that they were debating as anonymous thinkers,<sup>93</sup> not friends or enemies.<sup>94</sup>

Whilst Chalmers shared Soga's home whilst arranging and building a rectory, he relates no tales of Soga's home life beyond describing Soga's family life as 'simple, full of tenderness, and affection,

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<sup>92</sup> Soga returned from Glasgow in October 1848, and in 1850, three years after Rev William Chalmers' death, Mrs Chalmers Snr took Chalmers and two siblings to Scotland to receive an education (M.A. Chalmers 1892: vi), as well as Frances Dukwana, daughter of Ntsikana and sister of Soga's friend Dukwana, who died shortly after their arrival in Scotland (M.A. Chalmers 1892: xiii).

<sup>93</sup> Neither author was known at the time of publication; it is only because of the handwritten draft of Soga's reply that we are able to identify the response as Soga's.

<sup>94</sup> It is significant that the one time in which Chalmers and Soga were collaborating closely we are told they have drifted apart.

and thought, and care,' (1872: 17). Chalmers details no anecdotes about Janet Soga, even leaving her unnamed in his account of Soga's marital status, his only description of the bride that she is 'not [...] one belonging to his race or country,' (1872: 11); there is 'not one countrywoman fit to marry him' (1872: 11). Nor has Chalmers any anecdotes of the children, nor of Janet's two siblings, her sister who kept the school in Mgwali, and her brother who lived in Grahamstown (T.Bradsford 2010: 89).<sup>95</sup> Chalmers excuses this exclusion by saying that family is 'too sacred to be touched upon in this paper' (1872: 17). Likewise in the 1877/78 text Chalmers notes of '*The Inheritance of My Children*' that, 'To publish it to the world would rob it of its sacredness, and [...] reveal to the public gaze what was intended to be seen and read only by his own children,' (429), but Chalmers then proceeds to print excerpts from '*The Inheritance of My Children*' in that very chapter. Chalmers claims to quote van Wangemann's entire entry from his visit to Soga in Our Year in South Africa (Wangemann 1869: 219 in Chalmers 1877/78: 429) but the translation produced for this thesis does not include that the 'interior of Tyo [sic] Soga's house looked elegant. Mrs Soga appeared satisfied,' as Chalmers says it does (1872: 17). The translation produced for this thesis by Emma Silvius gives the text as:

In the evening we mounted our horses and went to Mr. Tiyo Soga, a learned Kaffer, who had studied in England and had married an English woman, and then had returned to Kaffer land in order to work there as preacher and missionary under his people. He had around 150 communicants and he had as a Kaffer a big influence on his environment. He is a man with his European education, his big talent and his scientific assiduity, like you would hardly meet among English theologians. His judgment is sharp and clear, and his speech certain, so he would remain in control at his station, even if he was a Kaffer, as well towards the bosses as the white co-workers.

Van Wangemann 1868: 429

Chalmers' father played an important role indeed in Soga's early life, as teacher with four schools to his watch in the area. This family connection to Soga provides an important aspect of the association between Soga and Chalmers, with Chalmers in a position to learn things about Soga even in Soga's absence through informal mention of Soga at home, but this does not equate to a close and confiding relationship. Even Chalmers' second wife, M.A. Chalmers, in her memoir Echoes of a Ministry (1892) describes Chalmers as primarily an educator and a friend of Soga:

When he was about 8 years of age, Tiyo Soga, the son of the most progressive of the Kafir Headmen, was sent to his father's house, and became at once John's body-guard and companion. The young Kafir was several years older than John, but John became

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<sup>95</sup> T.Bradsford notes that 'The obituary for Janet's brother appears in *King Williams' Town Gazette and Kaffrarian Watchman*, 25 May 1867; Janet's Sister is listed as a teacher at Tutura in 1871: see *MRUPC*, 1 June 1871, 553' (2010: 89 Footnote 72).



his teacher and taught him to read. Thus early, and all unconsciously, he [Chalmers] began his life's work.

1892: v

There are a number of factual inaccuracies in M.A. Chalmers' description. Soga was already literate when he went to Rev Chalmers Snr's school at Tyumi in around 1843 (*MRUPC*); he had been a pupil to his eldest brother Festiri and could already read when he progressed to Rev Chalmers Snr's school. Chalmers was 'under ten years of age when his father died in 1847,' (M.A. Chalmers 1892: vi), meaning that the earliest Chalmers could have been born was in 1837, in which case Chalmers was not 'about 8 years of age' in 1843 but six and a half at the oldest, unlikely himself to have been more than barely literate, and at least eight years younger than Soga who was then around fourteen years old. Chalmers' eldest brother William, first son and namesake of their father, was closer in age to Soga. Whilst Soga may have been friendly with Chalmers, M.A. Chalmers' description of Soga as 'John's body-guard and companion' reinforces Soga's physical and performative power against Chalmers' intellectual power, a sleight of hand which highlights misapprobations of their races and their differences rather than their closeness. Soga is depicted by M.A. Chalmers as a sensitive strong man, which description is distinctly at odds with the description Chalmers himself gave of Soga after Soga's death, in the 1872 biography:

It has been remarked that he was a poor specimen of a Kafir. Physically he was about the middle height, was painfully hollow about the chest, and neither walked nor sat erect. But when you looked at his face, you involuntarily felt that here is a man of great moral worth and high intellectual culture. During the last years of his life, he struggled against great physical weakness.

Chalmers 1872: 23

These two excerpts reveal Soga's tenacious position within the pens of Chalmers and his wife. A key factor in Chalmers' presentation of his relationship with Soga as a close one is his careful description of Soga as his junior and dependent, inferior, as a page in another hero's epic. More tellingly than not knowing Soga's actions, nor did Chalmers have any real sympathy with Soga, yet Chalmers was in the difficult position of having to give Soga a voice. Chalmers' description above of Soga as a strong man and then as a 'specimen' unable to walk upright is reminiscent of the Wild Man fetish, which 'fetishization,' argues White (1978) 'was inevitable because [...] the concept of a specifically human nature is only negatively definable [within the Enlightenment discourse], and Christianity had provided the basis of belief in the possibility of a humanity gone wild by suggesting that men might degenerate into an animal state in this world through sin,' (White 1978: 186). Throughout the text Chalmers is caught between the Wild Man and the Noble Savage fetishes as he tries to locate Soga since he simply has no experience on which to base his narrative. As the only two fetishes focusing on blackness available to Chalmers, he used them extensively and

appears unable to conceive of Soga in anything other than these highly mediated and racialised terms.

This chapter focuses closely on the 1872 biography because with one or two notable exceptions, this text is repeated virtually verbatim as the skeleton of Chalmers' 1877/78 biography, which he padded with excerpts from Soga's journal, his private correspondence and reports for the *MRUPC*, as well as letters and other documents sent by friends in response to Chalmers' request in order to relate a complete biography, consequently my assertions regarding Chalmers' depiction of Soga in the 1872 text are true for the 1877/78 text. Chalmers has not included in the 1877/78 text incoming correspondence to Soga in Soga's possession at the time of his death, which Chalmers claims was insignificant because not in Soga's hand, missing the importance of the names of Soga's correspondents and the topics and frequency of their correspondence, details which twenty-first century biographers and literary historians consider to be most instructive in tracing a thinker's philosophies. Moreover, Chalmers' amplification of entries from Soga's journal in the 1877/78 biography has been documented by Attwell (2005: 42) and renders the entire text unstable for analysis of Soga's voice and story because there is no way to determine the author of any statement recorded in that second text. A close study of Soga's writings and Chalmers' 1877/78 work reveals that Chalmers' rendition of letters written by Soga contains further discrepancies than the one cited by Attwell (1995: 51; 1997: 571, 2005: 42) in which Chalmers amplifies Soga's diary entry on the death of Notasi by adding the statement, 'I pressed her cold hand in mine' to the entry already given in the handwritten Journal (Chalmers 1877/78: 176). Soga's handwritten Journal entry reads simply,

'Tell me who that person is that is speaking--?'—'The Teacher' – was replied – 'Who – Tiyo?' – she enquired again – 'Come and let me bid you farewell... my dear Teacher – I was waiting for you hitherto' – She never uttered another word after this - & in half an hour or so she calmly and peacefully fell a sleep in Jesus.

Williams 1983: 20

The added statement is designed entirely to promote pathos, but there are other differences between the two texts. Chalmers has omitted 'in Jesus', removing the importance which Soga places on Notasi's religious identification.

'Tell me who that person is that is speaking.' 'The teacher,' was the reply. 'Who? Tiyo?' she enquired again; 'come and let me salute you, my teacher; I was hitherto waiting for you. She never uttered a syllable more on earth. I pressed her cold hand in mine. In half an hour after she calmly and peacefully fell asleep.'

Chalmers 1877/78: 176

In the 1877/78 biography, Chalmers renders ‘the Bay’ in Soga’s Letterbook and Journal as ‘Port Elizabeth,’ but the letter purportedly written by Soga to Mrs James McFarlane (1877/78: 203 – 204) seems not to have been written by Soga, for whom the words ‘such is depraved human nature’ seem overly sentimental and dripping with sexual charge. These discrepancies may reflect Soga’s own translation for his edited correspondence. Without Soga’s final drafts of his letters in his own hand for comparison we cannot verify an author. Changes may also have been made by the Revd Dr. Aikman who ‘supervis[ed] [...] the work on its way through the Press’ in Glasgow and freely made changes to Chalmers’ text (Chalmers 1872: Preface; Williams 1978: xvii). Yet this amplification remains an exciting clue to the technique of Chalmers’ narrative construction, exemplifying how Chalmers padded his narrative into a full and compelling story. He has inscribed his own experience onto Soga’s story, giving his sensibilities rather than Soga’s to speak Soga’s voice in a manner reminiscent of Eliot’s description of the objective correlative, and practised by Tennyson in his ‘*The Epic*’, a poem about the death of King Arthur based on Arthur Hallam, a close friend of Tennyson, Chalmers has used a range of narrative devices, even in the first text in 1872, including the splicing of first, second and third person narration to render the text more personal, in order fully to inscribe Chalmers’ own perspective onto Soga’s history. He elides Soga with other nineteenth century personalities, in which the words of others appear as if Soga had spoken them. I shall demonstrate that Chalmers engages in a systematic removal of syntactic agency from Soga, conclusively rendering Soga a syntactic object, an adjunct to the text of white male hegemony. In so doing Chalmers places his own words in Soga’s mouth, as a ventriloquist ventriloquises a dummy. I shall read the ways in which Soga’s race through his skin becomes productive of meaning, as well as the inscriptions which materialised on his body as a raised pictogram signifying his race and status in one instant. Beizer’s statements about ventriloquism that ‘...the spring that works the mouth [in a ventriloquist’s dummy] is a narrative device’ (1994: 267) cannot be underestimated. Beizer’s work on ventriloquism describes the psychoanalytic meaning of ventriloquism as an expression on the body, the enunciation in a speech act written on the skin which the mind within that body cannot bring itself to speak.

In fact the body [...] is spoken, ventriloquized by the master text that makes it signify. The [person] becomes a text, but [she/he] is a text within a text, a text framed as signifying source by another, mediating text.

Beizer 1994: 26

This chapter will demonstrate that Chalmers inscribes Soga’s skin as a folio with a signifier implanted on it, producing a ‘hysterical dermatographism,’ a hysteria described chiefly as a female complaint in the nineteenth century. Indeed within Chalmers’ 1872 text Soga’s body appears as

branded, as a slave. That Chalmers did not conceive of Soga as his equal is evident in Chalmers' writing. This allows for a study of Chalmers' depictions of Soga using these fetishes as an adjunct again to white male hegemonic issues.

To begin to study Chalmers' fictionalisation of Soga's identity even in the 1872 biography as fiction White notes, '...it can be argued that interpretation in history consists of the provisions of a plot structure for a sequence of events so that their nature as a comprehensible process is revealed by their figuration as a *story of a particular kind*' (White 1978: 58; emphasis in original). Frye views 'history (or at least "proper history") [as] belong[ing] to the category of "discursive writing," so that when the fictional element—or mythic plot structure—is obviously present in it, it ceases to be history altogether and becomes a bastard genre, product of an unholy, though not unnatural, union between history and poetry,' (White 1978: 83). Chalmers uses the Protestant *bildungsroman* fiction of social mobility through determination and sheer hard work, good influence and the belief in the benevolence and mercy of God,<sup>96</sup> portraying a variant strain of the motif of an indomitable inner city lad such as Livingstone or Moffatt, for whom religious qualifications and a station offered much better opportunities than they would normally have been offered in return for their labour, including a permanent salaried position, which would lead to further opportunities and further labour, and so on, until they became world famous and important individuals.<sup>97</sup> Most significant in this analysis is the use Chalmers makes of a grounding motif which ricochets across the 1872 biography and echoes through the 1877/8 text around which each successive step in the dénouement is charted and which is also dependent on the two fetishes of Wild Man and Noble Savage. This motif comprises the description of an image of Soga alone at night in a dark room; if people are present they cannot reach Soga and he cannot reach them. In this motif Soga's environment is associated with darkness and an impenetrable vision of the future, but there is usually a small light, and Soga is portrayed as active in this night light. His lit face and the small glow around the fire represent an isolated instance of containment within the wilderness that is the dark immediately beyond its small reach. The metaphor reflects Soga's relationship with God

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<sup>96</sup> This upward social mobility could extend to the wife of a minister: T. Bradford mentions his perspective that Janet Soga knew that she had married up in her marriage to Soga, and that her rise in social status was extended to her siblings who came to live with her there (2009: 89).

<sup>97</sup> Bickford-Smith (2011: 90) states: 'Britishness could still be conceived as a matter of appropriate dress, behaviour, belief and language, all attainable through education and hard work, through 'progress' and 'enlightenment', achieved pre-eminently in his day of course by Soga himself.' If this elusive nationality was all that the fight was for, I'll be very surprised. What did it represent? Why did Soga not want it?

symbolised as the light of education and civilisation which implies godliness, yet Chalmers' sustained infantilization, negation and denigration combine to delete Soga's authority and capacity and the narrative forms a vortex of repetitions and returns to the same point of departure on the circuit, unable to avoid the chaotic ends which did indeed also befall Soga in the broader canvass of his short life and which appear to be based on Soga's race as destiny. Chalmers introduces the motif as Soga slowly materialises for the first time as a school child proceeding to class with three brothers in the middle of Chalmers' homestead at the Tyumie Mission Station, traversing the landscape in which Chalmers, not Soga, grew up: 'As soon as he had mastered the alphabet, he passed along with three brothers to the care of the missionary, and day after day these four boys in their sheep-skin coverings walked up for instruction to the mission school,' (1872: 4). As Pratt states in *Imperial Eyes*, in the texts of anti-conquest authors,

for the most part, the human world is naturalized, functioning as a backdrop for the naturalist's quest. [...] Out of the corner of the landscanning eye, Khoikhoi servants move in and out of the edges of the story, fetching water, carrying baggage, driving oxen, stealing brandy, guiding, interpreting, looking for lost wagons...

Pratt 1992: 51

It is highly irregular that black characters are represented as going to school, but the fact of an education does not promote Chalmers' representation of Soga to more than that of an adjunct, used as in this instance to reflect on another person's identity and surroundings. There is no word of either of Soga's parents' homes or of Soga's routines within those two very different environments, his father an important councillor for Ngqika and Sandile, his mother a member of the AmaNtinde royalty with access to a broad political landscape. These brothers move soundlessly through the bush as they walk to school. The 'sheep-skin covering' adopts a special significance in the motif, which follows directly after this passage:

Often have I heard Tiyo Soga describe the discomforts of a sheep-skin kaross as unbearable when soaked with rain, as uncomfortable when hard and stiffened, as cold beyond endurance in winter nights when he was rolled up in one well worn and tattered—and how when a boy, as the cold wind blew in by the rents, he used to start up and put together the dying embers until they burst into a flame and thus warmed his shivering body. This lesson, taught by experience, made him in after years generous almost to a fault.

1872: 4

There are few more deprived and depraved situations than that of a young child coaxing a fire to flame in the cold and discomfort of a kaross in an otherwise unlit room, surrounded by people who are utterly ignorant of and inattentive to his needs and comfort, and, transgressing the so-called innocence of childhood, addressing his own needs in a self-sufficient way. The sheep-skin kaross

can be read as a metaphor for Soga's maternal cultural identity, which Soga experiences as intolerable, ill-fitting and ill-purposed in all conditions, chaffing and smarting against his skin.<sup>98</sup> The kaross envelops Soga and seems to overtake his personality. The 'dying embers' which Chalmers has Soga put together also represent a culture which can not nurture Soga, instead it is he as a young child who nurtures the embers to life. The light which Soga nurtures represents not only heat, but illumination, the figuration of knowledge, learning and inspiration, and can be read as a metaphor for the remnants of Ntsikana's adoption of Christianity which Soga adopts and fosters during his short life, which appears to sustain him too. Importantly, Soga's body is invisible, hidden by the impenetrable dark of the night in the wilderness. 'Only for the white man the Other is perceived on the level of the body-image, absolutely as the not-self – that is, the unidentifiable, the unassimilable' (Fanon 1986: 161 in Low 1996: 197). We do not see it, yet this absent body is the loudest signifier in the motif, its physical discomfort is the chief motivator of the dénouement as Soga physically and actively rises to improve the condition of his life, thus initiating the vertical trajectory of his narrative. It is the body which motivates Soga's choice to get up and build a fire to warm himself, to improve his circumstances, and initiates the Protestant *Bildungsroman* fiction; the body as the sign of the Wild Man is obscured in the depiction of the noble largesse of Soga's strain to be more than wild, to be other than wild. The body has no specific race, but in its invisibility and in the context of the night, the darkness and wilderness reflect on Soga and absorb him so that he has their colour, he is associated with darkness in his striving to move towards the light. Chalmers' note that, 'This lesson, taught by experience, made him in after years generous to a fault,' leans into the manners and customs discourse, tempering the distress with a focus on the enduring precedence of these manners in all circumstances, no matter how dire.

And so Chalmers begins his narrative, enunciating a trajectory which is an ascent all through Soga's life, towards the final apex, the heavens, in death. This half of the text functions as a redemption narrative, which ought to end, as with *Pilgrim's Progress*, with the main protagonist reaching heaven. Chalmers' first stop on this progression is Lovedale where as a scholar Soga was spurred by 'the sting of failure' (1872: 5) following his interview for a scholarship, to achieve 'dux' status,

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<sup>98</sup> Samuelson (2007: 43) has likewise highlighted the textual denigration of Krotoa-Eva through her representation by her 'wearing her skin apparel' which shows her baseness. Samuelson mentions the importance of clothes to the depiction of socialisation (43 – 44) both for Krotoa-Eva as an individual, whose identity is inferred by this 'skin apparel' and as a mother, dressing her children in clean fixed clothes for their father, and undressing them again when she goes to visit her brother-in-law, so that they will look like Khoikoi children.

which conveys to Soga a sense of the grandeur and entitlement of an educated gentleman, a ‘noble spirit’:

With a noble spirit of ambition he crept up slowly, but firmly, until soon he struggled neck and neck with his victor Nyoka from Mr. Calderwood’s, until at last he stood dux, but compelled to stand second only in arithmetic.

1872: 5

This ‘neck and neck’ struggle is the first of several struggles in which Chalmers details Soga’s engagement throughout his life, and in this example alone is Soga permitted to prevail, albeit in all but one arena: mathematics. In this first struggle it is assumed Soga will fight to the last minute to attain the position of precedence. He is supposed to fight, he is filled with the propensity for winning, for perseverance and precedence, and this impulse is rewarded immediately with his ascension to the top-but-one position. The word ‘crept’ also has wild connotations as it implies a four-legged movement, moving with stealth in an invisible and inaudible surprise attack. The notion of a neck and neck struggle implies not only a struggle of equals for stature, but also a struggle for life, as for Frederick Douglass (Douglass 2009: 68 - 70). The fact that Soga can not win anything outright is emblematic of his treatment by Chalmers: he is never permitted the ability to achieve the status of outright winner. Soga is able to win against a competitor who is also black but throughout the text Soga does not win against white competitors.

This first neck and neck struggle is an intellectual struggle, not a physical fight, and Chalmers continues to present Soga as an excellent scholar, explaining that the Rev. Bryce Ross, an examiner at Soga’s interview for the Lovedale scholarship<sup>99</sup> and father of the two Ross brothers who like William Ritchie Thompson were good friends to Soga and travelled together to Scotland on his first sojourn there in 1846 (1872: 5), described Soga as ‘an apt scholar [with] powers [...] of a high order [and] a well-balanced mind,’ (1872: 5). Chalmers depicts Soga as an exemplary rote learner:

One of the textbooks in that now famous institution was at that time the much-abused Scottish Assembly’s Shorter Catechisms; and it is told how on a Saturday morning these boys (white and black) had to repeat *memoriter* the portion they had already mastered, and how Nyoka and Tiyo would repeat one half of that book, proofs and all, without a pause or mistake and how Nyoka, fretting against the restraint of the dull boys, would give vent to his eagerness in a flood of tears, while Tiyo, calm but yet as eager, reserved his tears for fitter occasions.

Chalmers 1872: 6 - 7

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<sup>99</sup> The other two examiners were Wesleyan James Laing and Chalmers Snr.

Soga is patient, logical and rational, sure in his focus on his lessons and more sure-footed than his competitor despite ‘the restraint of the dull boys’. But the genius Ross identified is obscured by Soga’s self-possession which renders him insensitive to and insentient of the reason Nyoka<sup>100</sup> is so fragile and tearful, and it is Nyoka who seems the more believable and sympathetic in his exasperation, with Soga taking on the role of one of those who can not appease Nyoka’s distress. This insensitivity also is connoted with a wildness and an untamed instinct for self-preservation. This impetus is repeated in a description of Soga as a preacher where Soga is directly appraised as a machine:

In a critique which appeared in one of the colonial papers in 1864, of an anniversary sermon he preached, a similar insinuation is given to the public. “He read,” says the penny-a-liner, “from his sermon-book like a well-trained machine, and pronounces as distinctly and perfectly and slowly as said machine may be expected to do were it contrived. The subject of his discourse was justification by faith, and not by works; and he treated it after the most orthodox of fashions,—in fact, just as it had been taught him, without attempting originality of language or ideas.”

1872: 20

This portrayal matches Chalmers’ syntactic subjugation of Soga’s education when Chalmers tells us that, ‘Tiyo spent nearly two years of his life at Lovedale, where he acquired studious habits, and where the foundation was laid for his future training,’ (1872: 5); syntactically, ‘the foundation was laid’ not for Soga but ‘his future training,’ as if that training were the real object, more tangible and more important than the man himself. This mirrors the given long term aim of training local people as preachers and teachers as a means to ensure that colonial missions were cheap and self-sustaining (Hunter 1873: 10, 38, 351; Switzer 1993: 120), Soga is an adjunct to the colonial project.

The second instance of the grounding motif occurs around three years later in Tyumi in April 1846, when Soga and students and workers quit Lovedale after the outbreak of the War of the Axe, and also centres on Soga as an intellectual.

Day after day [Soga’s mother NoSuthu] collected sneezewood splinters, so that after night-fall, in the hut, by the bright firelight, he might still “speak with his books;” and there he would sit, book in hand, poring over its contents during the still hours of night, whilst his patient mother, weary, anxious, sleepless, wondered what these books had to say to her boy that he must needs speak to them day and night.

1872: 6

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<sup>100</sup> This name means ‘Snake’ in Xhosa, and it is not a name but a nickname for someone who is underhand or duplicitous. This depiction of Soga’s competitor is consistent with the depiction of Soga as unstable, double-dealing, and still does not reveal the identity of Soga’s competitor for certain as it does not tell us his name or his lineage through his father’s line.



The light has come to sustain Soga's mind more than his body, highlighting Soga's dedication to his studies. Soga figures as an aspiring intellectual actively pursuing knowledge. This focus on his insatiable appetite for knowledge prioritises him as an intellectual entity and serves to render Soga's body and skin colour again invisible and unimportant, reassuring the reader that Soga is an intellectual with the staunch work ethic and sheer determination of a Noble Savage who yearns for higher learning, and that the upward trajectory will be achieved. Soga's continued studies seem to be 'poring' back to the light as it pours to him and it seems that a dialogic relationship with information has been achieved. The self-reliance which Soga evidenced by reigniting the embers of a fire in the first depiction of this motif is now extended to allow a partnership with 'his illiterate mother' (1872: 6), the unnamed NoSuthu, as she aids Soga's dedication to his studies.<sup>101</sup> The extension of the light now includes NoSuthu within the broader canvas of wilderness even in daylight as she combs the veld for kindling so that Soga can continue with his reading after nightfall. Their relationship is depicted as isolated, consisting only of mother and son and omitting Soga's father and brothers Festiri and Zaze and the rest of the countryside and the entire war, yet we are reminded of a nurturing environment with a woman tangential to and in the service of male social ascent, specifically a mother attending to filial social ascent, through whom she will earn her place in history, as indeed it appears NoSuthu achieves.

In depicting NoSuthu's response to Soga's texts, NoSuthu helps to encourage the expansion of his horizons, providing a good foregrounding for Soga's departure from the Eastern Cape, which is about to occur; and as she 'wondered what these books had to say to her boy that he must needs speak to them,' NoSuthu identifies the trope of the Talking Book, and transfers the light and yearning for it to include the global company of authors and ideas. Chalmers' depiction of the talking book means that he must also have read the slave narratives which I have argued Soga would have had access to at least whilst in Scotland. Interestingly, however, Chalmers' use of the trope deviates from theirs. Here, books do not represent an elite and foreclosed domain to which the protagonist seeks entry. Unlike Douglass and other eighteenth and nineteenth century black writers to use this trope (Gates 1988: 127 – 169; Irele 2001), Soga is already empowered to engage with and in their dialogue. Neither do the books or their ability to converse entice the grammatical subject and topic of the sentence, NoSuthu, to literacy. This depiction of the trope of the talking book shows instead a global intellectual elite talking to Soga, waiting for him, and the shrill assonance in 'needs speak' seems to emphasise the significance of the meetings which Soga is

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<sup>101</sup> Although NoSuthu is thought to be literate.

about to have as he leaves via King William's Town for Scotland for the first time. Chalmers' mention of the trope of the talking book permits him to quote Soga, placing words into Soga's mouth, with those words expressing in turn Soga's imperative to talk, to 'speak with his books' as a deferred metadiscursive or *myse en abysme* function of ventriloquism. The distance between the speaker and the spoken word is revealed in Soga's syntactic status as the grammatical subject of the subordinate clause 'he might still "speak with his books;"' where Soga is neither the topic nor grammatical subject of the sentence. Chalmers does not reveal the content of those conversations. It is also interesting to note that Soga here is the subject around which NoSuthu is pivoted as an adjunct, yet she remains the topic of the sentence, and the grammatical subject of the sentence, and it is her perspective which is given here, not Soga's.

On board the ship to Glasgow, however, Chalmers subtly warns us of Soga's wildness when he portrays the dispute in which Soga gets involved with a soldier who

described one day a battle of Sir Andreas Stockenstrom's party – of which he asserted he was an important member—with a formidable Kafir commando, how the Kafirs had been routed, pursued, and completely discomfited, and how he in the flight had put an end to not a few of them. Tiyo listened quietly to the embellished description of the wholesale destruction of his countrymen, and then inquired if the victors were mounted. "They were on foot," was the reply. "Then not a Kafir did you kill," said Tiyo. The hero of a thousand adventures ceased thereafter to entertain his fellow passengers with his deeds of valour. The incident is eminently characteristic of the man, for he never rushed impetuously into argument even with his own countrymen, but watched patiently, and then attacked the weakest point in the statement.

Chalmers 1872: 6

The high formal and impersonal register of Soga's statement that 'not a Kafir did you kill,' shows Soga's elite grasp of English grammar to express deference and indignation at the same time. Soga is a young man in this scene, not yet in his twenties, yet his discursive practice is intelligent, educated, pointed, and utterly persuasive. This ventriloquism foregrounds the deadly rhetorical precision and extremely sharp wit which Chalmers ascribes to Soga as an ordained missionary in asserting his equality against racism. Here Chalmers aligns Soga against the coloniser as he portrays Soga's query of this soldier regarding the mounted status of the soldiers. Under colonial law, 'indigenous' South Africans were not permitted to own or ride horses (Williams 1970: , Pratt 1992: 40) however this area did not extend to the Xhosa people, only those in the Cape Colony; in asking this question Soga reminds the soldier that the soldier was referring to a nation not subject to colonial rule, asserting the autonomy of the Xhosa people and aligning himself with the Xhosa people. This allows for the development of Soga's critique of aristocracy, fulfilling an important

facet of the Noble Savage trope (White 1973: 194). White notes that one of the functions of the Noble Savage trope is its capacity to critique the nobility and the aristocracy.

Within a context of a situation such as this, the spokesman for the rising classes needed the concept to express their simultaneous rejection of the nobility's claims to privilege and desire for similar privileges themselves. The concept of the Noble Savage served their ideological needs perfectly, for it at once undermined the nobility's claim to a special human status and extended that status to the whole of humanity. But this extension was done only in principle. In fact, the claim to nobility was meant to extend neither to the natives of the new World nor to the lowest classes of Europe, but only to the bourgeoisie. That this was so is seen in the fact that, once the middle classes had established their right to a claim to the same humanity as that formerly claimed only by the nobility, they immediately turned to the task of dehumanizing those classes below them in the same way that, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Europeans in general had done to the natives of the New World.

White 1978: 194

Although in this instance the object of satirical derision is a low-ranking member of the military, he is an officer of the law, and Soga is preparing for his ensuing critiques of nobility. Soga's narrative seems trapped by Chalmers into a repetitive experience of racist assault followed by a verbal confrontation in which Soga's nobility is shown through his accurate and concise interruption of that racism which pan-textually develops into a counter-discursive practice in which he responds on his own terms with his own perspective and is not collaborative with the discourse of Enlightenment in any way. Soga's enunciation of his difference and his assertion of his rights are confined chiefly to these personalised interactions and do not spill over into a critique of the colonial rule of the Xhosa people. However the presence of this counter-discourse proves that Soga is not truly part of the hegemonic status quo. These verbal retorts contain a deadly precision which leaves those accused in an embarrassed and compromised situation.<sup>102</sup> This ranges from benign teasing, where Soga 'often playfully remarked, "I see you white people are not a whit behind my poor countrymen in evil-speaking,"' (1872: 13) revealing Soga's conception of himself as an equal to Chalmers and friends, and a calmness in Soga's personality, to a blistering and scathing attack against his devastating rudeness and meanness:

He was used to speak with withering scorn of the manner in which some bestowed their gifts upon him, and how keenly he felt when some one would thrust a £5 note into his hand, saying, "There, Mr. Soga, take that, and say nothing about it," and then turn away with an air of self-satisfaction, as if a great favour had been conferred.

1872: 12 - 13

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<sup>102</sup> In the 1877/78 text this list is contained towards the beginning of the chapter 'Characteristics' (chiefly on pages 436 - 448).

Soga's 'withering scorn' presents him as insincere. This characterisation leaves the reader unsettled about how to place Soga: noble, or wild? In the first half of the text Soga is represented by the Noble Savage fetish which charts Soga's social ascent and sojourn in the United Kingdom, his progress through the world as a young man, exploring the congruity of his customs and manners with those of the Enlightenment, and his sympathies with them, but now this dangerous duplicity indicates something wild in Soga's character which is better cast out than imbricated into society as a whole. Soga's consistent use of this counter-discourse is proof that Soga is an intellectual in a global context, and that the neck and neck struggle is a discursive struggle for authority and knowledge. For Chalmers, Soga's education has brought out the savage in him, has trained and honed his wildness to a more exacting wildness, all the more deadly and still untamed in this ability to attack, and there is the machine-like orientation of his personality again; an untamed and deadly shot who is an unpredictable force to be reckoned with. These racial insults refer to Soga as an individual, but also reflect on all Xhosa and indeed African peoples, of which Chalmers depicts Soga as conscious: 'Such were some of the insults through which this retiring, inoffensive man had to elbow himself; and they were all the more painful to bear because they indicated the place his countrymen held in the estimation of some, and because he had to bear them all alone' (19).<sup>103</sup> The wisdom of fighting for oneself is downplayed during Soga's life until, as an older man, Soga 'possessed in an eminent degree the strange deep blessedness of denying himself, and striving and suffering for the good of others,' (15). This sentence reads as a crescendo with the alliteration of 'd', a dental plosive, and 'b' and 'p' as labial plosives contrasting with the long hard vowel sounds of 'A' and 'ee' and the quick soft vowel sounds of 'blessedness' and 'suffering' all combine to create a sense of climactic importance.

Another anecdote shows the extent to which words can be made to stand for order:

On another occasion, passing with a brother minister through an insignificant village, they were accosted by the magistrate, who had little of the *suaviter in modo*, who cordially greeted Mr. Soga's companion, and then turned to him and abruptly demanded his pass. The joke was so personal and unfeeling, that Mr. Soga thereafter implored the Lieutenant-Governor of British Kaffraria to furnish him with a passport, so that he might travel without feeling that he violated the law of the Colony...

1872: 18 - 19

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<sup>103</sup> In the 1877/78 text: 'But such experiences were a burden, which seemed at times ready to crush him to the very earth,' (437) and Soga 'had a quiet and growing contempt for men who allowed colour of skin to rule their treatment of others.' (437).

This passage exemplifies the power of words as the dire consequences of a slippage of signification do not always stay contained within the realm of discourse, and that Soga believed in words as powerful. Words have the power not only to evoke raced and racial aspects of Soga's identity as primary within this context, not only to question his freedom of movement and individual autonomy, but the threat of imprisonment which they convey on the contravention of their power allegedly frightens Soga into requesting a passport even though one of the express perks of his role as minister was guaranteed freedom of movement. The fact that Soga's companion who is not stopped is introduced as his 'brother minister' seems somehow to diminish Soga's own claim to the title 'minister' in contrast to this partner. This highlights Soga's vulnerability to depictions of his racial identity as overshadowing any other aspect of his self. Soga it appears, must be stopped: he remains subject to arbitrary detention and persecution notwithstanding his status because racism can only perceive skin colour. The violence of white supremacy treats all black people according to their race. Soga cannot roam the plains of Africa unhindered as did Malan in 1872, even though that is his birthright.

Chalmers insists that Soga did not become immersed in Scottish culture on Soga's first visit to Scotland, although my research has shown that Soga had a busy and variable time on this visit, and despite the fact that Soga returned for a second journey and sent his unaccompanied sons to be educated there in the same situation as was he when he went there, without family and dependent on the generosity of church members to support them. Rather, Chalmers explains that Soga felt himself 'a solitary Kafir in the Western metropolis of Scotland, [and] felt that "solitude amid a crowd" which Robertson, of Brighton, has so graphically described' (1872: 7) in which Soga's training and readiness for the international context were undermined by his inability to adapt to that context. Chalmers insists that this international context clasps Soga too tightly, ensnares him as a cagebird in a cramped cage for which his beating wings are too large, without proper air to breathe even: 'As the captive bird beats against the bars of its cage, yearning to be free, so did Tiyo long for the free air of his native hills' (7).

This is the distillation and crystallisation of the motif in Chalmers' depiction of Soga: the metaphor is ironic because it shows the inverse of the reader's expectation. This young man full of promise working against the odds through the dead of night to take his place in a globalised context has become a trapped and confused bird, visibly debased from his culture and disoriented as a result. Light rather than darkness surrounds the cage-bird, but that light is presented as even more impenetrable for Soga than the dark, and instead of his usual nightly activities, Chalmers depicts

Soga as absolutely incapacitated. It is hard to know what possessed Chalmers to produce this depiction of Soga at a time when Chalmers himself was not yet ten years old, and in a completely different country from Soga. From the perspective of narrative construction, Chalmers may be building a sense of his and Soga's mutual confidence by intimating that Soga confided this experience to him. The depiction of entrapment is also an adumbration of Soga's entrapment within the confines of Christian missionarydom, the loggerheads over the Xhosa Bible, and his death at a very early age. Chalmers' use of this first journey to Scotland may comprise a vital component of the quest narrative, as Soga embarks on a small journey and undergoes a small test which he loses, and by this becomes equipped to deal with the real test, Soga's second journey to Scotland, where the hero must achieve excellence; this story component is also a normal part of story structure in Xhosa stories (Gough 1986). A further way of reading the function of this image within the text is to access the ventriloquist significations of the skin, once again a major signifier because this image alludes to Chalmers' position on the nature/nurture debate revealing that Soga's race is of vital importance to Chalmers, because it is the key to the depiction of Soga as either Noble Savage or Wild Man. Soga's status as a 'cage bird' confers a wild exoticism, reminding us that despite Soga's education he is an African and wild.

The nature/nurture debate was a familiar debate in Social Darwinist circles with black or 'native' people from all parts of the globe arriving in European capitals to take part in experiments into whether black subjectivity was capable of learning; Gates names Phyllis Wheatley, Frances Williams, Jacobus Capitein, Wilhelm Amo and Ignatius Sancho as 'just a few of the black subjects of such experiments in which young African slaves were tutored and trained along with white children' (1989: 120), and Gates notes that the experiment was used by supporters to advance both sides of the argument (189: 129). Yet Chalmers portrays Soga on his first visit to Scotland as unable to reach the same level of happiness and productivity as these intellectuals. White reminds us that wildness is related to a closeness to God, stating that, 'wildness is a peculiarly moral condition, a manifestation of a specific relationship to God, a cause and at the same time a consequence of being under God's curse,' and implies that wildness is both a condition and a location (1978: 159). It is interesting that in Chalmers' 1872 text he downplays Soga's baptism, stating only that Soga was 'received into the fellowship of the Christian Church by Dr. Anderson' (1872: 7) and therefore downplaying Soga's experience of religiosity. Still more significant, here is Soga's first experience of the voicelessness which became so emblematic of his life: as a caged bird, his only expression of his hankering for the wilderness is a muted shriek ensconced in someone's living room. The image of the trapped cage bird furthermore underscores Soga's

domestication in his inabilities to contend with the rigours of the ‘wild’ British. Chalmers also reveals his perspective of blackness as fundamentally incapable in his article, ‘*What is the destiny of the Kaffir race?*’ (*Indaba* April 1865), where he clearly demonstrates that he does not accept the possibility of precedence for ‘native’ people. For Chalmers, race defines capacity and potential. Chalmers is a biological determinist, as a Social Darwinist, where black people are ranked as with a position on the Great Chain of Being, in relation to civilisation and to the so-called achievements of European culture.

Chalmers’ 1877/78 description of Soga’s first arrival in London, entirely absent in the 1872 text, can be compared to M.A. Chalmers’ record of Chalmers’ reaction to his arrival in London. In the 1877/78 text Chalmers ostensibly quotes a letter from Richard Ross about Soga in London:

On the Tuesday Mr. Govan took us to see St. Paul’s Cathedral, when Tiyo stood for a considerable time quite transfixed, and gazing up earnestly at the dome, he exclaimed, ‘Did man make this?’

1877/78: 43

And here is M.A. Chalmers’ description of Chalmers being shown the sights of the city by ‘uncle Mr. McNair’:

We well remember the wonder of the children as they beheld the great buildings of London. He took them into St. Paul’s. “Now John,” said he, “this is St. Paul’s Cathedral, what do you think of it?” The little fellow, who had been looking around in speechless awe, thus challenged said: “I wonder they got anyone to build it, it is so big, so big!”

M.A. Chalmers 1892: xiv

This investment of Chalmers’ own perspective into Soga as a protagonist allows him to speak the body. This ventriloquist reading of this depiction shows Chalmers transposing his own feelings to Soga. Soga’s yearning for ‘the free air of his native hills’ provides Chalmers with the reason for Soga to leave Scotland, as he is to accompany Rev Browne to Mgwali. Soga again becomes an adjunct to another person’s actions rather than an independent entity acting of his own volition according to choices which he finds to be the best for him, and his actions are absorbed into the colonial narrative. Chalmers had to go to great lengths to achieve this consistent invalidation and negation, taking command of a series of information to create long and unwieldy sentences bedecked with numerous embedded clauses. For example:

Tiyo now fell into the hands of one of the most conscientious missionaries that ever lived, the Rev. Robert Niven, who engaged his service in 1849, as a schoolmaster at Uniondale, near what is now Keiskamma Hoek, -- a station which had only a beginning and an end, with but little between, for the year of 1850 had reduced it to a mass of ruins.

Soga is the grammatical subject of the sentence, yet even so the sentence is not at all about Soga, spanning instead Soga's missionary colleagues, the history of mission stations, geography, and the history of the British incursion into Kaffraria. This broad historical survey of missionary stations, missionary history and Soga's history produces Chalmers' authority as a narrator. His knowledge is presented as important, and Soga, even though the grammatical subject of the sentence, is quickly forgotten in the detail. Soga appears very seldom as the grammatical subject of a sentence, even when he is the topic of the sentence, and very seldom as a proper noun. Chalmers normally represents Soga as a pronoun, whether personal, possessive or reflexive, which on a text-long level accumulates to delete Soga's identity as Soga fails to appear as himself but as a 'morphed' man, in a metonymic or synecdochic way. But on those occasions in which Soga does appear as a proper noun, he is still frequently acted upon or reactive rather than active: Soga is intrinsically passive, he did not organise or conspire to work with Niven but 'fell into [his] hands' in a passive and semantically unwise capitulation in a malevolent situation. Niven's abandonment of his station and his wife's mental illness associated with this departure are too strong in the minds of readers to allow for an ironic reading of this statement either. Soga's passivity might even be transferred to every noun in a sentence, for example, 'Tiyo Soga in his infancy underwent this baptism of smoke,--this baptism into heathenism; a bullock was sacrificed, and the household gods were appeased,' (1872: 2). Soga also appears as a proper noun and subject of a verb as good as intransitive, for example: 'Tiyo Soga did this' (1872: 14). The direct object of Soga's actions comprises a demonstrative pronoun indicating place or location, not even a noun, allowing Soga only an amputated, stunted and truncated ability to act. This has the cumulative effect of deleting Soga's personality from this picture and foregrounding the narrator himself, eliding Soga and any possible intervention which Soga may have made into the background of the action. It renders Soga as passive, acted upon, incapable of agency.

This syntactic lack of agency is not due to Chalmers' lack of written communication skills; on the contrary, Chalmers can even flip a sentence on its axis if it reinforces Soga's invalidation as he does, for example in the explanation of Soga's removal to Scotland: 'How to dispose of Tiyo was Mr. Niven's great perplexity,' (1872: 9). Although Soga is the indirect object of the subordinate clause, he is prioritised within this sentence as the first proper noun and the topic of the sentence, I suggest because its content focuses on his expendability. Soga is shown as present only insofar as his absence is foregrounded.



Uniondale is significant to Chalmers because he conceives of and depicts it as a wilderness. As a location it is isolated and remote, home to unconverted Xhosa people who openly wore the signs of their rituals on their bodies, and it provides the opportunity for Chalmers to detail Soga's confrontation with Xhosa culture, as these people are said to target Soga purportedly for not having 'undergone the heathen rites initiatory to manhood' (1872: 8). This confrontation of Soga over his beliefs is the first of a series of tests which recur with Soga's second return to Mgwali. These trials and tribulations reveal Soga's perseverance in the face of adversity, his strength of character and the sincerity of his decision to become an ordained minister, a status so incongruous as to necessitate demonstrable evidence of Soga's shunning of all those political affiliations and influences which may assail the travail of the ascension. Chalmers also informs us that the Kafir Hymn Book in 1850, 'contain[ed] several of his songs of praise, he being at that time about twenty years of age,' (1872: 8). But the issue of circumcision is most important because it is the sign of the fetish of savagery and of wildness which provides the moral context for the narrative. Chalmers reminds his audience of Soga's race and potential through this allusion to his masculinity and sexuality, even while he depicts Soga's perspective on circumcision, on the sign of the fetish, as 'heathenish':

The recollection of the fearful ordeal through which he had to pass at Uniondale made him in after years one of the strongest opponents to that heathenish custom of circumcision which is the bane of mission work, and he often heard for a legislative enactment forbidding its performance as the only means by which it could be stamped out for ever.

1872: 8

This mention is a distancing technique, showing the targeting of Soga and his circumcision at once as what makes him native and not native. But the targeting should also be seen in context of the impending war which then broke out in 1850, and as indicating and certifying Soga's status as Noble, albeit Noble Savage, and disproving any allegiance to the Wild Men who destroyed Niven's Bible and the mission station whilst maintaining that association. Chalmers personalises Soga's experience as he concludes, 'And all that remains of that station is a small portion of the stone wall of the church, a melancholy memento to the passers-by,' (1872: 8). The sibilance in 'station... small... stone,' conveys the impending doom of the mission at Uniondale, and the repetition of 'm' in 'melancholy memento' mimicks a shivering lip, depicting the direness of this situation. Chalmers' use of internal rhyme in the sentence, 'Amid this confusion Tiyo fled, and as he threaded his way through the dark forest he had several hair-breadth escapes for his life,' (1872: 9) also builds the suspense of Soga's escape through the forest, rendering the passage more immediate and evocative and creating the illusion of onomatopoeia, as the sound of Soga's tread is heard beating through the sentence.

But Chalmers depicts one final test of Soga's allegiance to civilisation, once Soga has returned to Tyumi from Uniondale, this time by 'the chiefs', amongst whom Chalmers includes Maqoma, a rebel warrior who had been a regent for Sandile.<sup>104</sup>

Having reached the Chumie, and being well known as the educated son of an eminent counsellor, the chiefs, Makomo [sic] being one of the number, frequently sent letters which had been taken from murdered white men for him to read, so that they might know the various movements of the enemy.

1872: 9

Even though Chalmers shows Soga refusing these demands, when he brings Soga into the company of other African leaders their identities are elided syntactically and it is difficult to tell whether Soga or Maqoma has reached 'the Chumie'. This elision of identities equates Soga with Maqoma, who is known to Scottish readers as his activities are regularly reported on in the *Glasgow Herald*.<sup>105</sup> It appears that the exact details of how Maqoma came to think about colony can be equated with 'the educated son of an eminent counsellor', as is true for Soga. Maqoma is not 'the educated son of an eminent counsellor' but neither is he a chief (Meintjes 1971: 80); he is regent-turned-rebel and his rebel status is the means by which he derives his status, as for Soga who likewise derives his status in rebelling against the chiefs. Chalmers is not in direct control of his relationship with these powerful black leaders. The same pattern occurs when Soga appears as a misrelated participle to Chief Botman.

I have known him take a journey of at least thirty miles to see the old Chief Botman, to hear him narrate scenes of Kafir history which only he could tell. He knew all the brave warriors of his race and when he met any of them his face brightened up, and he would say, "That is So-and-so; I shall draw him out, and you will hear his adventures."

1872: 14

Syntactically and contextually the subject 'He' of this second sentence, 'He knew all the brave warriors' refers to Botman, because the subject of the preceding verb 'could tell' is Botman, not only 'old' as Chalmers describes him but vehemently opposed to settler colonisation (Switzer 1973) but for Chalmers to describe the routine of Botman's meetings with warriors implies that he was often in Botman's company. 'He' refers contextually to Soga as a man educated about and interested in safeguarding knowledge of his heritage, as is Botman, and Soga and Botman's

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<sup>104</sup> The association between Soga and Maqoma is said to have been noted by Soga himself. In Chalmers 1877/78 text he tells us that Soga identified the year of his birth as the year in which Maqoma was expelled from the Kat River (Chalmers 1877/78: 4) and Williams (1978: 1) also links Soga and Maqoma through this date.

<sup>105</sup> The *Glasgow Herald* ran regular updates against the state of the war against Maqoma because many of the soldiers in that army were Scottish.

identities are elided in this way. Chalmers reinforces Soga's proximity to the important people of the Xhosa nation. The characterisation of Soga which occurs through means of this zeugmatic association with these men is a synecdochic metonymy. The one stands for the other and they become interchangeable as identities.

Chalmers likes to characterise Soga by placing him in the context of other people, and this can be a valuable process because it allows the nineteenth century to pertain as it brings out Soga's historical context and the broad range of identities in Soga's life, sometimes giving a context and a physical description of a person. The use of third person omniscient narration allows Chalmers the panoptic vision of an alert, watchful, descriptive pastoral eye. Chalmers describes Soga's ancestry and various Xhosa customs and social practices such as the birth ritual (1872: 1 - 2). Chalmers surveys the congregants at Tyumi Station (1872: 3), provides the identities of the two students who received scholarships to Lovedale instead of Soga (1872: 5), and describes the notable Professors at Theological Hall (1872: 10 - 11). His authority on the Eastern Cape and on Soga is presented as loftily inalienable: 'there was Umbi, the huntsman, who bore on his neck and head the marks of a fierce encounter with a tiger', even though tigers are not African animals; 'there was Harper, stern and logical; there was Dr. Lindsay the exegete, the very picture of kindness' (1872: 11). He can even survey retrospectively through the eyes of Soga as a young vendor of fruit to barracks (1872: 17). However this specification is nonetheless a de-individuation, a dissolution of identity within a collective of nineteenth century men and instead of witnessing Soga's emergence from the text as a person all the more distinct for this contextualisation, Soga becomes a conflation of identities, a montage of all these men and only legible because of his association with them. Information about Soga is deflected off him; the sign "Soga" does not present the signified person, but talks of other men.

Seemingly the manner in which Niven 'disposes' of Soga is to take him back to Scotland. At the outset of the journey, Chalmers tells us that

...C.L.Stretch, Esq., generously contributing to defray the expenses of his voyage home[, in] June 1851 the mission party sailed for England. High thoughts were in the Kafir youth's soul. He had resolved to make a venture to show the capacity of the Kafir mind.

1872: 9

Chalmers' description of Scotland as 'home' to Soga is reminiscent of Soga's statement after leaving Scotland six years after this outward bound journey as an ordained minister that he had 'two

homes' (Williams 1983: 11). But here it reads as patronising of the reader, to whom Scotland and the United Kingdom were home, especially given that the previous description of Soga in Scotland was as a trapped cage bird. This shift in perspective and direct appeal to the reader indicates that Chalmers does not know about Soga's response, which is likewise seen in the sentences, 'High thoughts were in the Kafir youth's soul. He had resolved to make a venture to show the capacity of the Kafir mind.' Soga had returned to Scotland in order specifically to become a minister and a missionary (Minutes of the John Street United Presbyterian Church Kirk Street Session, Glasgow, 21st October 1851;<sup>106</sup> Khabela 1996: 17, Williams 1983: 2; 1978: 22). In his account of Soga's second sojourn in Scotland as an Arts student at the University of Glasgow and a theology student at the Theological Hall in Edinburgh, Chalmers presents the inverse of the motif of Soga alone in a dark room with a small light for warmth and hope. We learn that 'for the first time a Kafir wearing a red toga, the academic garb of the Glasgow University, was seen threading his way through the foggy streets of Glasgow, through the gates of the venerable College in High Street, and into the classrooms,' (Chalmers 1872: 9). In this sentence, the repetition of 'threaded' and its internal rhyme of '-e-' recall Soga's flight from Uniondale and evoke a conclusion to that plight, denoting that Soga has finally reached a place in which he may realise the intimations of global communication inherent in NoSuthu's account of the Trope of the Talking Book prior to Soga's first visit to Scotland. Soga was 'invited to a feast of reason in the shape of speeches on various subjects,' (1872: 10). Soga has become a member of a global community of thinkers and the dark and solitary night hours in which he is accustomed to taking his studies have been transformed into their very antithesis: a busy, peopled and inspiring environment, with the dazzling buzz of people debating.

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<sup>106</sup> The Minutes of the John Street United Presbyterian Church Kirk Street Session for 21<sup>st</sup> October 1851 are truncated in Chalmers' 1877/78 text, which concludes, '...Divinity Hall, that in due time he might return to Kaffraria as an ordained missionary' (70 – 71). The Minutes of the John Street United Presbyterian Church Kirk Street Session for 21<sup>st</sup> October 1851 read: "Appeared Tiyo Soga, along with the Rev Mr. Niven, Mr. Niven gave a detail of Mr Soga's conduct and diligence in his work as a teacher during his late mission to Caffraria in that character. He spoke of him in very high terms of commendation. He then gave an account of the reasons which moved him to bring Tiyo home with him to Scotland in fleeing from the desolations of the Caffrarian War. The Session unanimously agreed that when the Sabbath classes undertook the expenses of Mr. Soga's clothing, Board, etc., they should undertake to bear the expenses of his being educated at College, the Divinity Hall, and to have him prepared for being sent out again to Caffraria as an ordained Missionary; and expressed themselves as being happy in having the opportunity of aiding in the education of one who promised so fairly to be eminent in the missionary field." CH3/806/1.

Part of the antithesis of this motif lies in the figuration of Soga as a centre of attention. Soga is participating in the production of ideas and he even achieves fame as ‘lionised’ (1872: 10). ‘There was a great demand for the presence of Tiyo Soga at these – a live Kafir – a countryman of the world-famed Makomo,’ (1872: 10). Here indeed is the Noble Savage amongst the courtiers. Yet Soga’s race underscores every aspect of Soga’s identity in Scotland and the narrative gaze assesses his progress through a lens which gauges his identity and potential as a raced individual. Whilst Soga may be a light in a dark room, he remains an object, tangential to and not the heart and soul of the party; Soga is here represented as an indirect object describing ‘presence,’ inferring that it is not Soga’s intellect which is required at these meetings but merely his physical being, and Soga’s status is vulnerable to change with each new ‘great demand’. Soga is not permitted to enjoy such forthcoming personal attention: ‘Whilst ready to give a stimulus to mission work by his presence, he instinctively shrank from invariably being the lion at such gatherings because he had a black face’ (1872: 10). Chalmers exploits the ambiguity of whether Soga spoke about the need for mission work or was read as an example of the effects of mission work in ‘ready to give a stimulus to mission work’ as he does for the ambiguity of whether Soga ‘shrank’ because he had a black face, or whether he was rendered a lion because he had a black face. Whether Soga discontinued his participation in these debates or simply ‘shrank’ from being lionised, for which he need not stay away altogether, is also unclear. Chalmers omits to mention which debates Soga attended, which topics were debated and, crucially, whether Soga gave any speeches; he omits the names of those with whom Soga could be sure of meeting.

Soga returns to Scotland as aspirant novice and will remain a novice no matter his attempts otherwise, and it is in the arena of his studies that this becomes the most obvious. In his depiction of Soga as a student, Chalmers does not even afford Soga a desk or chair as for students in a university lecture hall, and so for ‘five sessions he sat at the feet of these men of consecrated scholarship, and received an impulse for biblical study which he has used for the advantage of his countrymen,’ (Chalmers 1872: 11). Although it is unnecessary to take Chalmers literally when he speaks of Soga ‘at the feet’ of his teachers, Soga’s second class status within this picture is stressed, his proper place on the Great Chain of Being reinscribed.<sup>107</sup> Soga’s education in a world-class university is also subsumed as adjunctive to the depiction of his lecturers: ‘It was under men thus jealous of their dignity that Tiyo Soga passed his academic career,’ (1872: 10). This sentence reveals nothing new about Soga, rather we learn of Soga’s teachers that they were proud, and

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<sup>107</sup> The Great Chain of Being listed the lowest form of human as the Hottentot, a person who came from the exact same area of the Eastern Cape as did Soga.

Soga's syntactic status as the subject of the subordinate clause mirrors his social status as subordinate to these men, literally 'under' them; that in turn makes it easier to believe that Soga's academic career was impoverished in some way. It is telling that Soga's experience of his academic career is not recorded at all by Chalmers, as the contents of his studies, although these are touched on in the 1877/78 text which lists his favourite authors, his marginalia, his attention to detail, his preference for history over literature, his notebooks (74 - 80). One instance pertaining to Soga's education which is not included in the 1877/78 text but is intrinsically important to the 1872 text is Soga's choice of a seat in a 'prominent place' at a debate of the Liberal Association for which a fellow member assaults Soga:

A scene occurred at one of these elections which showed his power of self-control. There was a fierce struggle between the contending parties for the prominent place in one of the class-rooms where the meeting was being held. The dissipated scion of a respectable family seeing the Kafir about to claim the victory, took him unawares, and sent him sprawling full length on the ground. In an instant the Kafir's blood was roused; springing to his feet, he eagerly asked one who is now a distinguished minister, "What shall I do to him?" and when advised not to retaliate, quietly allowed the insult to go unpunished.

1872: 10

The fist of this colleague has imprinted Soga's race back onto his potential, and re-infused the significance of Soga's race on the mind of the reader, reminding us that Soga can not fail to lose to his equals and contemporaries. Chalmers' use of the words 'the Kafir' to describe Soga is a shocking deferral of Soga's subjectivity onto his race and reminds us that Chalmers views this escapade from the perspective of '[t]he dissipated scion', where factitious coherence refuses us the name of this individual. It also permits Chalmers to depict Soga as a Wild Man, using animal imagery to describe Soga as a person whose 'blood was roused', who 'springs to his feet' from having been 'sprawl[ed] full length on the ground,' but when called off the fight 'quietly allowed the insult to go unpunished', presenting a seething reluctance. This description does not augur well for Soga's future.

To this end one could argue one or another of two possibilities: savages are *either* a breed of super animals (similar to dogs, bears, or monkeys), which would account for their violation of human taboos and their presumed physical superiority to men; *or* they were a breed of degenerate men (descendants of the lost tribes of Israel or a race of men rendered destitute of reason and moral sense by the effects of a harsh climate).<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> White gives this corresponding footnote 7 for Chapter 7: Gary B Nash 'The image of the Indian' in Dudley and Novak The Wild Man Within 56 - 7, 71, & 77; Hanke, Aristotle and the American Indians, p. 27 and Antonello Gerbi, The Dispute of the New World: The History of a Polemic, 1750 – 1900, revised and enlarged edition, translated by Jeremy Moyle at Pittsburgh, 1973.)

In this neck and neck struggle, Soga is floored once by the aggressive student, and again by his friends who, in contrast to the fighting mode which has propelled Soga to overturn degradation in his life time and time again, explicitly request that he not respond, that he not fight back. Soga's drive to prove himself and improve his circumstances is now achieved by doing nothing, by not retaliating. Soga loses this neck-and-neck struggle in being floored not on account of his cunning or physical equality but rather because he is inactive and does not retaliate. Soga achieves the apex of his noble status because his lack of retaliation signifies that he has truly become a gentleman of their realm and demonstrably shares an education and the same mores and values, the same sense of a chivalric order in which one's valour was at all times pivotal. Yet Soga's reticence also signifies the beginning of a bathetic trajectory in which he will come to lose everything. This is the inverted narrative of Frederick Douglass. It is as if Chalmers is rewriting Douglass' text with the ending required by white supremacists. Soga's purported passivity will become more and more important to Chalmers' narration of Soga's *bildungsroman*, his lack of response will be reconfigured in different ways before Soga succumbs to an illness which itself was said by Chalmers to be due to Soga's refusal to react to it (1872: 23). Although Chalmers does not include this incident in the 1877/78 text, he uses its principles and central premises of Soga's vulnerability, status and passivity within that text, showing him as inactive and the victim of a series of trials and tribulations, as for the 1872 text, which Soga undergoes in his 'adulthood' and which contrive to present Soga's felicity to European culture. Pivotaly, Chalmers proceeds immediately after this anecdote to provide an account of Soga's status as a slave by a young child (1872: 10), which anecdote is supposedly recounted 'with great glee' by Soga himself, with the disquieted strain of the alliteration of 'g' an overcompensation. In this account Soga is also restrained and does not speak against slavery or respond in any way to the child herself, and the nobility implied in the largesse of spirit to see humour in the situation returns Soga to the realm of chivalric values. Yet Soga's status as slave because of his skin is always marked, his race and skin colour denoting that while a young child may name him, he does not have the power to name her.

Chalmers does not include any information about Stella Weims or the Rev. Dr. Henry Highland Garnet in his 1872 text, nor does he highlight any of Soga's relationships with the broader world. The history which Chalmers wanted to write would not permit these narrative strands to be developed. 'Moreover, Levi-Strauss maintains, [...] historical facts are [...] "selected" rather than

apodictically provided as elements of a narrative. Confronted with a chaos of “facts,” the historian must “choose, sever and carve them up” for narrative purposes,’ (White 1978: 55).

As soon as Soga returns to Mgwali in 1857 we see the motif return to its first depiction of Soga in that dark room at night with a small light. Immediately on ‘his first arrival’ at Mgwali, Soga, and presumably his bride, move into

a miserable cottage which had been erected as a temporary dwelling [...], and it was doubtless because of the discomforts of cold and damp then experienced that the germs of the disease—laryngitis—from which he suffered so acutely during the last two years of his life were laid.

1872: 11

The motivation of Soga’s development in the *bildungsroman* narrative can not be upward because Chalmers needs to position Soga as Wild Man, soon to be outcast, reflecting the strife with other missionaries which occurred over the final eight years of Soga’s life and his removal to Tutura and early death, therefore Chalmers includes the circumstances of Soga’s death at the beginning of the section of the text devoted to describing Soga’s life once back in South Africa. The disease seems to be a figment of a story told specifically in order to bolster the need to move inland into territory which was not strictly British at least before 1867. Calderwood objected that he was taking over a poor and unattended mission (Williams 1983). Yet there is some ambivalence about the extent of the disease in the environment of Mgwali which was also contrasted with the descriptions of Mgwali as a land of ‘milk and corn’ (Chalmers 1877/78: 153) and Soga ‘left behind at the Umgwali a large and flourishing station, a commodious church, well attended, a comfortable dwelling, and an attached people’ (1872: 10). This disease is transferable to his new station at Tutura: ‘There are few men who would so willingly have relinquished the enjoyments of a comfortable home such as he had at the Umgwali, and entered upon a rough life in the Transkei with a shattered constitution for the benefit of others’ (1872: 15). This is the disease conventionally connoted with blackness.

Low remarks:

As is evident from the apologies for romance, patriotic, nationalistic and moral sentiments were expressed via a discourse of health and physiology. Haley notes that the Victorian literary critic appeared like a ‘medical diagnostician’ looking for signs of disease or soundness, in the belief that man’s moral and spiritual well being was manifested organically in the physical and social order (Haley, 1978: 46, 57 - 58).

Low 1996: 34

After Soga’s return to Mgwali as an ordained minister, Chalmers’ chief interest in Soga is in depicting how Soga handled racist incidents in which children, hysterical women, officious gentry



and nobility disabused him. Soga's experiences with racism also allow Chalmers to pronounce on the nature/nurture debate. Chalmers attempts to define Soga as a gentleman through contrasting Soga with other gentility, with 'a gentleman of arms,' presumably not a gentleman by birth, and finding Soga to be a gentleman by 'creation' not 'blood' (1872: 13). By this time Soga is in his mid to late thirties and has been ordained for over ten years, yet he is introduced in this passage as part of a group of 'several young missionaries'. During the meeting Soga is depicted as wary of the reinterpretation of his words and the repercussions of saying the wrong thing, or being misinterpreted. Indeed in this instance Soga is represented as 'the true gentleman' (1872: 13). But again the devastating clarity of his angry remonstrance is difficult to reconcile with and denies the mercy and humanity which is the preserve of a minister. Again his noble discourse is muted by his scissor-sharp analysis and ability to express his perspective in the most direct fashion possible.

Chalmers' perspective that a person can be reared to be a gentleman is immediately undercut by this deviant turn to wildness. Soga's power of refusal is expressed in his dealings with women whom it appears Soga has the right to walk away from. But this expertness becomes a sign of Soga's instability, his unpredictability, of his wild status, his race, rendering him untrustworthy, not useful in a critique against the nobility because it brings the critic into disrepute. Soga's skin and its colour show the *de facto* appreciation of Soga's potential by the audience of Chalmers' writing, and by Chalmers' himself. This counter-discourse is the opposite of the seething refusal to engage with his denigration. Chalmers will not control Soga's voice so that he can achieve co-operation, only open conflagration. As such Soga has moved beyond the catch of the manners and customs critique and forms a part of the untamed, wild response which can devour a human in a matter of minutes: this is the wilderness which is part of the soul. Ventriloquism occurs as Soga's words further Chalmers' project, leaving Soga an adjunct.

The penultimate depiction of the motif of Soga alone in a room is in the experience Soga recounts of his overnight stay at a hotel in which he is initially refused a room in the normal hotel and directed to the dark, smelly and rudimentary barn, where he is then subjected to a racist attack by a member of the military:

The landlord, not knowing the weary traveller, showed him to a small room in the backyard, perfumed with the mellow flavour from the stable. The apartment contained as its furniture two forms and a table. On one of these forms was a well-worn pair of large blucher boots; on the other Mr. Soga stretched himself to rest. Presently, the door was opened and an able-bodied navvy entered, who, on seeing a black man enjoying a siesta, gave a long whistle, inquired "Who have we got here?" – then suddenly made a rush to the boots and seized them, exclaiming "Be jabbers, I must take care of me

property!” The grotesqueness of the scene, as well as the idea of his stealing such a pair of boots, proved too much, and he burst into a loud laugh. Explanations followed. Soon Mr. Soga found himself in one of the most comfortable chambers of the inn, and on the following day—Sunday—as he conducted service, his two most attentive listeners were mine host, and the Irishman who had deemed him capable of stealing a pair of boots!

1872: 18

The uncomfortable leather kaross which Chalmers portrayed Soga as wearing appears in this example of this motif as these ‘well-worn blucher boots’. It is only when Soga proves that he wants nothing to do with them he finds himself upgraded to the position of ‘one of the most comfortable chambers of the inn’ as this trial of his status has brought him equality and recognition. Yet in this neck and neck struggle the action here is absurd: why would he be upgraded? While their owner, the ‘able-bodied navvy,’ returns for his boots, he surely did not occupy the second ‘form’ for sleeping in. How did the ‘explanations’ which ‘followed’ include the landlord, and what was the sequence of events which led to Soga’s rerooming?

In further examples of Soga’s maltreatment Chalmers again ventriloquises Soga by splicing his own words into Soga’s experience in a careful shift between first and third person narration within a sentence. First Chalmers expresses his perspective:

To be insulted as he entered the room of a wayside inn, in the company of a gentleman of no mean repute, with the remark, seasoned with an oath, “We allow no niggers in here!”

1872: 18

Soga’s perspective seems to be told in the sentence, ‘To be insulted as he entered the room’, and the ‘gentleman of no mean repute’ is Chalmers himself, but perhaps Soga is insulted whilst also accompanying another gentleman, who may also have been Chalmers. Chalmers then slips into Soga’s perspective as the sentence continues in a description of what can only be Soga’s experience:

‘to be arrested by the police for travelling without a pass,’

which would not have happened to Chalmers, and continues with an elision of both of their perspectives:

to see a little drummer walking backwards before him, and as he did so squaring up and saying, “So you are the nigger that has married a white woman? Eh! Come along!” And then to return to Chalmers’ experiences of ‘hear[ing] a rude Scotchman shout out to him, “I am ashamed of my countrymen!” –was enough to embitter his life.

1872: 18

The second person narration personalises the experience and directs it to the reader, as if the reader were insulted in this way, making the insult the more immediate and threatening, promoting pathos for Soga in the violence of this racism. Yet there are also instances in which Chalmers depicts Soga as unable to speak, carrying an inarticulate body language which must be expressed (Beizer 1994) as Soga hid his emotions: <sup>109</sup>

When injured, he repressed his anger but indulged his grief, and was accustomed on such occasions to conduct himself rather like a person wounded than offended. He possessed that gentleness which shrank with an instinctive recoil from contention. Add to this a tone of sadness which pervaded his whole life; the cause was difficult to find, and only occasionally, when in conversation on questions affecting the native population he gave utterance to the words "My poor countrymen!" did one get, as it were, to the secret of this depression. Yet this characteristic sadness was balanced by a deeper depth of happiness and liveliness and mirth, which welled up when in the company of kindred spirits and whilst conversing on subjects congenial to his nature. His merry, joyous laugh showed a soul full of inward tranquillity, and it was always observable to those who knew him best that the despondency which overclouded his being was owing to something altogether foreign to himself.

1872: 12

I suggest that Chalmers can be read as offering a critique of the nobility as racist. Soga is said to dislike the song '*Rule Britannia*' because 'there was so much vainglory and pride about it, and he, as one of the conquered race, felt that it exulted over a crushed foe' (1872: 15), permitting a critique of the colonial mission. Chalmers also portrays Soga's critique of English legal practice, which Soga allegedly regards as unstable, especially in comparison with the Xhosa tradition of justice, which he finds to be better designed to achieve the social improvement and moral welfare for which the English legal system purports to aim:

Referring to the great want of uniformity in the decisions of special magistrates, and their satellites, the native police, he often remarked that his countrymen were utterly bewildered as to the principle on which they were governed,--for one day a case was decided according to English, the next according to Kafir law.

He used to speak of his countrymen as having a great veneration for their father the Governor, and he frequently remarked that our Government were blind to the fact that his countrymen, from the training they had received from their chiefs to reverence law, would willingly submit to any legislative enactment whatever which had justice in it, so long as the reasons were given for its promulgation, and it was clearly shown to be for their improvement and moral welfare.

1872: 16

Soga may critique that nobility but he remains a strict devotee of all things noble, whether Xhosa, English, Scottish or Christian. Chalmers' treatment of Soga here is almost chivalric, with Soga

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<sup>109</sup> As mentioned above, Chalmers also records this in the 1877/78 text in the chapter 'Characteristics'.

imbued with the characteristics of a knight: sensitivity, generosity, self-respect, pride, health, (12) and a sworn fealty and practised comitatus.<sup>110</sup>

A further example of ventriloquism occurs when Soga's degraded social status as images of slave branding are used in association with Soga: '...for a man of Tiyo Soga's stamp, who was gifted with a pure and lofty mind...' The significations of 'stamp' comprise his race as well as the vulnerability of his race to the branding which was a stamp of ownership on slaves' bodies; here the skin begins to speak the sign, the word, the mark of ultimate cultural significance. Marks begin to appear on Soga's reputation and on his body. A second description of Soga as 'of the truest stamp, unalloyed with anything base, or mean, or underhand' (1872: 15) conjures up pictures of hot fire, pokers and branding. Soga's race status is developed as that of a slave status.

Soga has 'a pure and lofty mind,' (11) but Wild Man is not capable of thought, only instinct, nor truly is the Noble Savage, whose usual association with irony posits an inverse reality through a social critique where thinking concerns issues of state and sovereignty, equality and liberty, as opposed to slavery, racism and prejudice, and this aim seems to intimate the voluntary defrocking which Soga begins to undergo as his allegiance to Christianity and Enlightenment are stripped from him. Bhabha remarks that 'Hybridity represents that ambivalent "turn" of the discriminated subject into the terrifying, exorbitant object of paranoid classification – a disturbing questioning of the images and presences of authority,' (1985: 155 in Low 1996: 200). Beizer asks what the ventriloquist dummy can do to stop being ventriloquised:

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<sup>110</sup> We also see the motif in Chalmers' 1877/8 biography in this brief description of Soga as a father of a young child, apparently reprinted from a letter to Rev William Anderson, who had died in 1872 (<http://gdl.cdlr.strath.ac.uk/airgli/airgli0203.htm>):

I have also had a slight experience of paternal care. When his mother was ill, I had both to nurse him and minister to his comfort. What do you think of this as an illustration of parental happiness – sitting up all night with open eyes, having an infant on your knees, until four o'clock in the morning, and hearing nothing but the constant wail of the little stranger?

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This depiction of father and child bonding, with an absented mother, is tenderly rendered, with sympathy for Soga's humanity and humour, and Chalmers' use of the first person speaking Soga's words together with the authority of Anderson in asserting that such a letter had been received from Soga, underline the verity of these statements as Soga's. However the depiction also certainly mirrors the experience of a young Chalmers, single father after the death of his first wife in childbirth. This is also ventriloquism as Chalmers enunciates the words he feels through using his depiction of Soga's experience, whether that was Soga's experience as well or not. It is an appropriation of Soga's voice.

[W]hat would happen if the hysterical body no longer allowed itself to be signed, labelled, diagnosed, but if, insubordinate, itself become a creator, a producer of meaning, this body assumed its own power and went on to deliver an unexpected, even fatal message? What would this message be –this message that uncannily recalls the “quelque chose d’*au dela*” that separated from “literal reality” to insinuate itself into the preface of the novel—and why does it inspire such fear?

1994: 26

This question is most relevant to the discussion of Soga, because Soga did attempt to be a producer of meaning, and was not supported by those who considered themselves more important than they considered him as I argued in Chapter Five: *The Audacity of Veracity*. It is perhaps not surprising that Chalmers’ depictions of Soga’s unpredictability start to become more visceral, both because he is angry about this treatment and because the narrative is constrained by a convention in which the Wild Man is unpredictable in this way, and any strengthening of the association of Soga with the Wild Man fetish will be allowed. The reader is surprised to learn that Soga had principles which would force him to respond to racism and to be bold and forthright in his perspective, but ultimately for the pains of speaking ‘my bond, no more or less’ (*King Lear* Act 1 Sc 2 l 23), Soga was accused of filial ingratitude:

He was the representative of his own denomination at the Board of Revisers of the Kafir Bible. This is not the place to refer to the fierce controversy which raged regarding the imperfections of the present version of the Kafir Bible, neither is it advisable to rake up the hard things which were said and written against him at the time. The wounds then inflicted proved, perhaps, the saddest sorrow of his life, -- that men should dare to think that by the attitude he assumed he was ungrateful for the great services rendered to his countrymen of furnishing them with the Word of Life.

1872: 23

Soga’s ingratitude is in the taking up of the right to speak persuasively and well, to engage wholeheartedly in the Enlightenment discourses in which he was schooled and according to a shared conception of a social reality. One struggle which is only indirectly represented is Soga’s neck and neck struggle against Appleyard, which was not a physical but an intellectual struggle against a real and identifiable person with serious repercussions for the way in which we remember Soga. This information is not included in Chalmers’ 1877/8 edition; oddly its omission from that text makes it all the more believable in this. In the context of reports on the spats going on in the *Kaffrarian Watchman* (1866) it seems that Soga had stepped out of his place and made strong critiques of Appleyard, and as we have seen, Soga is portrayed as an aggressor rather than an ultra-faithful person deeply in tune with the project of translating the Bible into Xhosa accurately. Soga’s counter-discourse is finally read as ingratitude and treachery; this bathetic move hastens Soga’s being outcast, an Edenic child who returns his own value on the discourse which he enters

into with them, invested with confidence to fight for that which he perceives to be the best without considering the consequences. Chalmers explains:

And when an educated Kafir, a civilized and christianized Kafir, cherished this feeling as a Christian duty, is he to be the less honoured? Some men, in ignorance, confound patriotism with rebellion. Mr. Soga never could have been a rebel. He would rather have died than be a traitor. His patriotism was of the truest stamp, unalloyed with anything base, or mean, or underhand.

1872: 15

The distress in this excerpt, with highly emotive and charged statements, and words like ‘died,’ ‘traitor,’ ‘patriotism,’ ‘ignorance’, allow Chalmers to reiterate his point. Chalmers continues in a somewhat admonishing tone, ‘His death will cause a painful blank as these Revisers meet from time to time around one common table, for his translations, carefully prepared and singularly scholarly, were remarkable for their ability and beauty.’ The picture of a large table with an empty chair at Soga’s place shows Soga signified by his absence, and comprises the inverse of the motif again, or the negative picture, showing Soga’s association with these thinkers in the daylight, but that he can only appear as not there, as synechdochic and metonymic.

The 1872 text uses this counter-discourse with its wild overtones to evict Soga to a place beyond colonial control, to Tutura and to Kreli’s bounds, and does not rely for coherence as does the 1877/78 text on Soga’s purported doubts about his religion, and his rejection of that religion. The 1877/78 text prioritises this supposed wilderness in Soga’s soul, underscoring the failure inherent in the nurturing of Soga and suggesting that it is arid and that no matter how careful a tilling and tending, nothing can grow there. The cloudy darkness that is synonymous with confusion is also an example of the motif in which there is no way out of the cold and dark nightly paces – no one will help him, no one will answer his queries, he is alone in this crisis. De Kock calls this ‘Ignatian doubt’ (1994: 48; 56) which doubt can be read as a strengthening of belief through a trial of doubt, but once Chalmers has alienated Soga from Christianity it is almost impossible for Chalmers to reconcile Soga with its basic tenets again.

Soga’s final return to Tutura is his ultimate repatriation to the wilderness that is untamed and as yet for the British untameable territory. Soga is also named as a subject of passive verbs, such as, ‘Soga was transferred to the Transkei’ (1872: 11). The verb ‘was transferred’ is furthermore infelicitous in this instance as it implies that there was already an extant mission station at Tutura, which negates and denies that Soga had motivated for this move constantly since 1865, when Kreli returned to the area around Tutura (Williams 1983: 107 - 110). The very premise upon which Soga

set up Tutura was precisely that people had begun moving from his and other mission stations to Kreli's 'Transkeian Territory' (Williams 1983: 110) beyond the bounds of the Cape Colony, and that there were no preachers to minister to those peoples present in that area.<sup>111</sup> Soga's political engineering is written out of Chalmers' text by means of this passive sentence. It appears that the mission stations predated Soga, and that ministers' movement between them was nothing more than a bureaucratic transfer on paper. Soga becomes an adjunct to this process, a pawn rather than a broker.

'From the Umgwali he was transferred to the Transkei, where he commenced life afresh, living for many months in a hut. He left behind at the Umgwali a large and flourishing station, a commodious church, well attended, a comfortable dwelling, and an attached people' (1872: 10), where the repetition of "Come, come, come," in the words 'comfortable, commenced, commodious' (11), appear like a bid into temptation, into superstition, congruent with the audience's expectation. Internal rhyme establishes syntactic coherence and cohesiveness as Soga is actually returning to the wilderness. Chalmers' audience knew the perils Soga would face in the wilderness until his death four years later. White (1978: 160) remarks of the fetish of Wild Man Tahira;

To be sure, the withdrawal of the prophet into the countryside is a common theme in the Old Testament. The prophet is sometimes pictured as coming out of the countryside, like Amos, or withdrawing to it in preference to concourse with a sinful Israel, like Jeremiah. But the countryside is one thing, the wilderness is quite another. The countryside is still the place of the blessing; the wilderness stands at the opposite side of being, as the place where God's destructive power manifests itself most dramatically.

White 1978: 160

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<sup>111</sup> Soga writes in a missionary report for the UPC

Whilst the darkness resting on the Gaikas is indeed deep, that brooding on the G[c]alekas is unrelieved by scarce a ray of light. We may state that in our interview with Kreli, we were impressed with the fact that he is a man of extraordinary talent, and possessed of no ordinary ability; and yet his total ignorance of the nature of the gospel was truly affecting. Is it too much to presume that his people are equally ignorant? and if so, is not this a loud call for the Church of our fathers to send forth a messenger of the gospel, to bring that light to them which can dissipate even the densest darkness of heathenism? If our Church does not respond to our appeal, we cannot tell how many years may pass ere the gospel is made known to them. Surely, then, every day is precious, and a labourer ought speedily to come to seek to instruct these degraded people. [...] Need we say that the case is urgent, that it calls for speedy action, and that it is of the utmost importance that our call be responded?

Soga 1865: *MRUPC* in Williams 1983: 110

Chalmers tells us that Soga stayed with the Gcalekas ‘who stood firm about Christianity,’ which is ambiguous because the word ‘firm’ has positive connotations, yet Kreli resisted Christianity and the sentence actually implies that Soga was unsuccessful in his conversion of them to Christianity; perhaps, a further inference, he had four years of relative peace and harmony and writing. Yet, as White notes:

The state of wildness into which the popular legend insisted that a man *might* fall expressed a deep anxiety, less about the way of salvation than about the possibility that one might regress to a condition in which the very chance of salvation might be lost.

1978: 165

Chalmers portrays Soga as a symbol of ‘what we might become if we betrayed our achieved humanity’ (White 1978: 178) twice over: first, as the noble savage, and secondly as someone who becomes angry with whiteness and ‘betrays [his] achieved humanity’ in ostensibly shunning it. ‘... wilderness can appear in the very heart of a human being, as insanity, sin, evil – any condition that reflects a falling away of man from God’ (White 1978: 160).

Chalmers includes a perfunctory physical description of Soga as ‘middle height, stooped, hazel eyes, broad forehead’ (1872: 23) just before Soga dies; it had to be added to explain the ‘great physical weakness’ (1872: 23) from which Soga died. This illness is also a taboo subject, Chalmers tells us, and ‘no one discussed it with Soga’ (1872: 23) purportedly because Soga himself treated the subject as taboo (23). Soga had reportedly been travelling for two days to give a vaccination and when he returned he was ill, and died two sentences later, with no speeches, no incantations or any vocality. Instead Soga has a noble death-bed scene, quite singular in its wordlessness as he is given no closing words, we are told merely that ‘his tongue was silenced; and his eyes were closed in death’ (24). Again we are reminded that Chalmers was not close enough to Soga to know the intimate details of his life or death: he arrives at Tutura the day after Soga’s death, and although for a close friend protocol would have deemed it proper to ask what Soga said whilst he was dying, Chalmers appears not to have access to this information. Instead, he includes a short entry on Soga’s burial, which reflects the extent of the presence of an international community.

There gathered around his grave representatives of all the various nations which populate our Colony,--[sic] Englishmen, Germans, Africanders, Kafirs, Fingoes, Hottentots, Malays. The various sects of Christians found representatives there, to shed a tear over the remains of one of South Africa’s noblest sons.

1872: 24

The community gathered at Soga’s funeral constituted an emblem of the rainbow nation which South Africa prided itself on becoming over a century later, yet interestingly Chalmers does not



include the Scots, subsuming them within the ‘various sects of Christians’ and perpetuating the implicit racism against the Irish and the Scottish which posits the English British as the standard-bearers of culture. Soga’s grave continues to symbolise the wilderness which has always shrouded the depictions of it. Even Malan records his experience of visiting Soga’s grave as ‘railed in’ but not buried in a formal burial ground:

15<sup>th</sup> January [1872]

At early dawn I went out to look at the grave of Tio Soga. His body rests in a corner of his own garden, railed in. There is no “God’s acre” set apart as yet at Teduka [sic]. As I looked on it, I thought how blessed a life given to Christ! How glorious the present state of this Kaffir child of God! How blessed the eternal prospect of this first chosen apostle of his people! *For ever with JESUS!*

Malan 1872: 76

Williams notes that Soga’s grave ‘rests in the heart of a grove of Port Jackson willow’ (1978: 117), a natural ‘God’s acre’ but still informal. In Chalmers’ 1872 text, the signifier for Soga’s grave extends away from the local and rural to the international through its description as the ocean with its ‘undertone of sadness’ as if Soga were forever a slave of the middle passage, and then the mountains:

Standing by his grave on a calm, peaceful evening, the low, deep murmur of the Indian Ocean is heard far away in the distance—fit emblem of the undertone of sadness which pervaded his whole life. Then the mountains—fit emblem of the elevated thoughts with which his soul was filled, and made him look upward and beyond. He sleeps well. He was one of God’s best works.

1872: 24

These natural images absorb Soga as part of the wildness of nature, and the repetition of ‘fit emblem’ combined with the word ‘emblazoned’ in the closing sentence of the ‘On the scroll on which South Africa has written the names of her best and truest and most illustrious sons, henceforward let the name of TIYO SOGA be emblazoned in gold’ (24) allows for a rhetorical empowerment which is almost a positive ending. Whilst during the course of his life many tried to emblazon themselves on him, ultimately Soga is the victor, emblazoned on a Eurocentric culture, and not it on him, albeit in death.

## Conclusion

Voice and presence, silence and absence, then, have been the resonating terms of a four-part homology in our literary tradition for well over two hundred years.

Gates 1988: 131

This thesis has set out to recoup the history of the Reverend Tiyo ‘Sani’ Soga, enigma and wordsmith extraordinaire, and to examine all the critical work which has been produced on Soga to date, and recoup Soga’s voice for the benefit of all South Africans. Whilst Soga was undoubtedly a victim of textual subjugation and of outright racism, with his history and written works censored and destroyed, there are ways in which these stories can be retrieved. In the process, I have discovered a wealth of information about Soga, and work which Soga produced but had hitherto been latent, filed in archival holdings. This thesis has revealed aspects of Soga’s life history and his identity which were previously unknown. These do indeed throw new light on Soga, allowing a reading of Soga in which he is a full intellectual entity, an activist both in the local and the global field of black and world intellectualism. I do believe that the works which I have found are not exhaustive, and I sincerely hope that this work has contributed to enlarging an understanding of South Africa’s history and identity politics as well as an estimation of what we still might come to know, with further inquiry.

Many people worked very hard to delete Soga’s name in the late nineteenth century and many are working equally hard now to replace that name. The history of Soga is a compelling one, gripping to most who come across it. The major theorists on Soga, Williams, De Kock and Attwell, are being joined by literary historians of nineteenth-century South Africa, Opland, Hofmeyr and Masilela, as well as historians such as Bickford-Smith and international missionary scholars T. Bradford and Johann, who all attempt as have I to grapple with the issues which confronted Soga and to reveal aspects which will broaden knowledge and understanding about the man and his era. I feel certain that the prediction which Dikeni gave my Xhosa II (Standard) Class almost two decades ago, that Soga would become a vital component of the South African stage – the next ‘umqaba qaba igqabi le-vineka!’ - is coming true. Soon Soga studies will be standard fare in South African history and English Studies, Religious Studies, African studies, and Bible studies. Soga’s works are of paramount importance to scholars of South African literary history, as well as to Black Consciousness and Pan-African scholars wishing to redeem the words and histories of men such as Soga whose writing has been deliberately withheld, and publish them, to know what Soga wrote in order to obviate the old problem of re-inventing the wheel.

As a literary theorist and lover of literature, this study has restored my faith in the ability of contemporary literary theory and criticism to impact on South African culture, because it has proven that latent histories will be regenerated in a continued and sustained attempt to persevere and find them. The knowledge of South Africa's history is incomplete, and can and must be augmented and developed, and literary history is an important means to effect this augmentation. Literary history is the history of literacy; it reveals not only the history of literature but also the writings of our culture and our history; it accounts for the tally of printing presses in the country, the publication of books of the Bible, and translations of texts into home languages and into foreign languages, as well as school primers, habits of letter writing and all other records. It reveals tropes and modes of signification from which it is possible to extrapolate literary traditions and oeuvres. A careful reconstruction allows a vision of South African history of writers which may yet tell us what South Africans made of the Enlightenment project. This study may also prove a South African relationship with Sierra Leone and with Freetown, and America. Soga's sojourn to Scotland and work with the translation of the Bible saw the beginning of a long tradition of South Africans travelling abroad and specifically reveals the relevance of towns like Dollar, Scotland, to the South African cultural heritage. Rubusana, Pixley K Semane, ZK Matthews, Plaatje, Dhlomo; Notishi, Frances Dukwana, Deena Tzenzana and Tause Soga, these men and women have been and continue to be studied as the subject of serious academic endeavour and Soga's impact on them is slowly being acknowledged especially in his status as a role model. How Soga influenced them is not known because his own political agenda has been obfuscated.

Moreover, this study may allow for a depiction of black South Africans outside of the colonial gaze, as Soga and other nineteenth-century intellectuals emerge from the blood and dusty haze of the history of the apartheid era, and colonial imposition in South Africa. This study has also renewed my sense of the urgency of this work. The academics who have tirelessly combed this era for knowledge have not exhausted the field but created inroads and pathways which will open doors and unlock more repositories of knowledge. There is no point in being defeatist and accepting that the might of military, racist and colonial imposition has won. There is newness in every dusty archival file, information which studies by new eyes registering new responses to writing may reveal as new fields of literary studies, as with conventional Reader Reception Theory. The youth of South Africa may contribute to this study too. Our voices and our hard work can and should be contributions to our present. These intellectuals were active and busy, peopling a cultural fresco of which contemporary South Africans remain unfortunately unaware.

Their narratives carry important information about South African history in which South Africa is not only seen as the top of the world, its autochthonous peoples not only enemies of the militant conquerors left behind by modernity but as global players, agentive and active in pursuing an international globalised reality.

Soga's graveside, so long neglected and overgrown, is being readied for visitors, as his story is becoming more well known; the Memorial established in September last year will soon have a restaurant and a museum, I feel sure, and busyness will surround his memory. I am proud to have been a part of this chapter.

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## **Appendices**

**Appendix A:**

*'The Kafir Bible'* Rev J.W.Appleyard's Version Judged by Missionaries of Various Denominations, and Others'

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# The Kafir Bible.

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REV. J. W. APPLEYARD'S

VERSION JUDGED

BY

Missionaries of various Denominations,

AND OTHERS.

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South Africa :

PRINTED AT LOVEDALE 'MISSION PRESS.'

1866.

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*Pamphlet-  
on  
the present translation  
of the  
New Bible.*

# Introductory Statement.

—o—

THE TRANSLATION OF THE SCRIPTURES INTO THE KAFIR LANGUAGE is a work which has long, more or less, engaged the labours of all Denominations of Missionaries among the Kafir-speaking population of this country, and in which, it is freely admitted, the Wesleyans have occupied the foremost place. Not less than eight or ten years ago, translations of most parts of Scripture into that language had been prepared and printed. Such translations, however, it was admitted by all, were defective and unsatisfactory ; and the necessity of endeavouring, by some means, to procure another and better translation of the whole Scriptures was universally felt. In these circumstances, the South African Auxiliary Bible Society very properly took up the matter, and entered into correspondence with Missionaries and others interested in the work, with the view of discovering a way by which this desideratum might be supplied. This correspondence was, in 1858, printed in the form of a pamphlet, and circulated among Missionaries and others interested in the subject. And from this it may be seen that the result was a plan devised by the Committee of said Auxiliary, and which by them was submitted to the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, through their Secretary the Rev. George Morgan, Cape Town, in a communication dated 19th August, 1857. This plan was, to commit the work of translation to a Board of three Missionaries, viz. the Rev. J. W. Appleyard, the Rev. Bryce Ross, and a third to be named by these two gentlemen ; and that they should, for the time, be loosed from their other work, and so be enabled to give themselves wholly to the work of translation. The Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, who had already made a grant of £1000 for the translation of the Scriptures into Kafir, refused to sanction this plan, chiefly because of "the great expenditure which," to use the words of their own Minute on the subject, "would necessarily be involved in appointing a Translation Sub-Committee, to be conducted on the plan suggested in the Minutes of the South African Auxiliary Committee." Instead of the plan thus rejected, the Committee, their Minute bears, were "rather disposed to advise that the matter be left, for the present, in the hands of the Missionaries labouring in Kaffraria, and that, when the whole Bible shall have been translated and printed, then some such plan as that followed in 1845, and again in 1854, be adopted, namely, that interleaved copies be sent to

Missionaries, and others acquainted with the language, with the request that they will make such emendations as they think requisite, and return the copies by a given time; and that then it may be desirable, or even necessary, to form a Committee of competent persons to consider and decide upon the various suggestions offered."

It is unnecessary to remark on the comparative merits of these two plans, because neither of them has been carried into effect. The work continued in the hands of the Wesleyans, and specially of Mr Appleyard. Interleaved copies of the translation of the New Testament were indeed sent to Missionaries and others. But those best qualified to make suggestions declined to do so, on the ground that their suggestions should they make any, would, they had reason to believe, be judged of and decided upon by men, in whose qualifications for the work of translating they had not full confidence, and that thus they might expend a great amount of time and labour in making suggestions, which after all might be disregarded, while, notwithstanding, they might be held to give some sort of sanction to a work which they might not be able to approve. For, let it be remarked, no promise was ever authoritatively made that, on the translation being completed, "a Committee of competent persons would be appointed, to consider and decide on the various suggestions offered."

When the translation had been completed, and was in general circulation, and when the necessity of another and better translation continued still to be generally and strongly felt, in disregard of the plans equally of the Auxiliary and of the parent Societies, Mr Appleyard was sent to England, to prepare a revised Edition. This was surely an unwise arrangement. That Mr Appleyard, or any other man to whom the Kafir is a Foreign language, however high might be his qualifications otherwise, should, single-handed,—in *England* too, where he could have access to few, if any, that knew any thing of Kafir, and to none to whom it was vernacular,—be able to make a correct, idiomatic translation of the Scriptures into that language was, it might have been confidently affirmed before hand, an impossibility. Such indeed was the conviction of some deeply interested in the matter; and yet they felt themselves precluded, even if they had had the means, from making any separate attempts to supply what, it was very strongly felt, was urgently wanted.

In January, 1864, the subject was introduced at a Conference of Missionaries of different Denominations held at Lovedale. A Wesleyan Missionary, then present, requested that the subject should be deferred, till the translation, on which Mr Appleyard was then working, and which, he said, was to be a *new* translation, should be received. This request was complied

with, and nothing further was done by the Conference till Mr Appleyard's new Translation was in circulation in this country.

At a Meeting of a Committee of said Conference, held at King William's Town in July 1865, for the purpose of fixing upon subjects to be brought before the Meeting of the Conference at Lovedale, in the following January, it was agreed, on the suggestion of a Wesleyan Missionary, that the Rev. Tiyo Soga should be requested to prepare and read, at said Meeting, a paper on the Kafir Bible. Mr Soga, though prevented from being present at that Meeting, communicated his views, in a letter to the Rev. James Laing, Secretary to the Conference, which was read at the Meeting, and which is the first of the following collection of papers. Several of the other Members present also expressed their views on the same subject; and after considerable conversation and discussion, it was resolved unanimously that Mr Appleyard's Version, "while it is the result of much pains and labour, and while great credit is due, especially to Mr Appleyard, for the care which he has bestowed on its revision and completion, is yet not to be accepted as satisfactory; and that it is imperative, therefore, that measures be adopted, without any unnecessary delay, to have a correct, idiomatic translation." A Committee was accordingly appointed, consisting of two Missionaries of each of the following Denominations, represented at this Meeting, viz. The United Presbyterian and Free Churches of Scotland, the London Missionary Society, the Berlin Missionary Society, and the Moravian, "to take this very important matter in hand, and devise and carry into effect whatever measures may be necessary for accomplishing it, instructing them to invite the co-operation of Missionaries of all denominations in the work."

In taking this step, the members of the Conference were fully aware that they were taking upon themselves a grave responsibility, and that they were entering on a work in which they might expect not only to encounter great difficulties, but also to meet with serious and peculiarly painful obstructions. The consciousness of this, combined with other causes which it is unnecessary to specify, may account for the fact, that the Committee did not meet, and that consequently nothing was done in the matter till the 15th July last, when the Committee met at King Williamstown.

Meanwhile, the Rev. William Govan, Lovedale, a member of the Conference, though not then of the Committee, in writing to the Rev. Dr. Alexander Duff, Convener of the Foreign Missions' Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, immediately after the Meeting of the Conference, gave him a brief account of its proceedings in reference to the Kafir Bible. The subject was one the importance of which the Dr. was prepared fully to appreciate; and, assuming that Mr Govan had written

to him officially, in name of the Conference, he at once laid his statement before both the Eastern and Western Committees of the National Bible Society of Scotland, by whom the matter was entertained. With Dr. Duff's approval, the Secretary of the National Bible Society of Scotland communicated to the Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society the statement which Dr. Duff had submitted to the Committees; and, in the meantime, these Committees, on the recommendation of Dr. Duff, resolved, before doing any thing in the matter, to obtain full information on the subject from this country.

When the Committee met at King William's Town, as already mentioned, on the 5th July, a communication from Dr. Duff to Mr. Govan, with accompanying documents, giving full details of what has just been briefly referred to, was laid before them. Accepting gladly what Dr. Duff had done in their name, though not at their instance, they, after full deliberation, determined that the best course was simply, in compliance with Dr. Duff's request, to procure evidence in support of the resolution of the Conference—that Mr. Appleyard's version cannot be accepted as satisfactory. They therefore directed a Circular to be sent to Missionaries labouring among Natives speaking of that language, and others who, from their knowledge of that language, are qualified to give an opinion on the subject, requesting them to state, in writing, their views on Mr. Appleyard's version, to Mr. Laing the Secretary, on or before the first Wednesday of September, on which day the Committee resolved to meet again at King William's Town, to receive and consider the communications that might be received, in answer to this Circular.

The Meeting accordingly did take place on Wednesday the 5th September, when the Secretary produced a great number of such Communications. These were read; and, after a good deal of deliberation and discussion, the following Deliverance was all but unanimously adopted:—"The Meeting find that the communications now read, as well as those formerly received, in reference to Mr. Appleyard's Version, fully bear out the judgment upon that Version expressed by the Conference at Lovedale in January; and appoint Messrs Govan, Soga, Birt, and R. Ross, a Sub-Committee—Mr. Govan, Convener—with instructions to have these documents printed; to send one Copy to Dr. Duff, a second to the British and Foreign Bible Society, and a third to Mr. Appleyard; and also to send a Copy to every Missionary of every Denomination, labouring among the Kafir speaking population of this Country. They farther instruct the Sub-Committee to explain to the British and Foreign Bible Society that the application to the National Bible Society of Scotland by Dr. Duff was not at the instance of this Committee, but upon information from an individual member of the Con-

ference; and that they will gratefully receive from them assistance in preparing a new Translation, which, in some way, *must* be got. They at the same time direct the Sub-Committee to request Dr. Duff to communicate with the British and Foreign Bible Society, in name of the Committee, and to receive from them a Statement of what they may be willing to do,—with the understanding that, if that Society be unwilling immediately to undertake, or to aid in the work, he continue to urge the undertaking of it on the National Bible Society of Scotland."

It has been stated, that this Deliverance was all but unanimously adopted by the Committee. One member indeed did not fully concur in it, from an idea that, at this stage, the Committee should, before proceeding farther, agree to give Mr. Appleyard—what, it was understood, he desires—an opportunity of meeting and conferring with them, in reference to the objections made to his version. It was from no want of respect for Mr. Appleyard that the Committee felt themselves precluded from adopting this proposal, but because they were convinced that it could not possibly lead to any good result. Let it be remarked, that all that the Conference has as yet done is to pronounce a judgment on Mr. Appleyard's Version, and to communicate with other parties interested, in order to ascertain whether, and how far, such parties concur in their judgment. It is only now, that they are in a condition to communicate with the Bible Society, or with Mr. Appleyard on the subject. And they do so, they venture to think, in the way most becoming the position—the grave and responsible position—which they have felt themselves called upon to take up, and most consistent with due respect both for Mr. Appleyard and for the Bible Society. The mass of Evidence here presented justifies, they think, the conclusion, that a new Version is imperatively required. This conclusion, thus supported, they submit to all parties concerned, in the hope that measures may be speedily adopted to secure what they think has been proved to be urgently wanted—a new, correct, idiomatic Translation of the Scriptures into Kafir.

How this is to be accomplished is a question which they have not yet begun to consider, because the consideration of it does not belong to them alone, but to all who, in common with them, are specially interested in the matter. It is manifestly of the greatest importance that all Denominations should unite in this Work. This is the wish of the Conference, and of those who are co-operating with them.—And it is in the hope that this most desirable result may be brought about, that this Communication is made to all parties specially interested.

It may be permitted, in conclusion, to call attention to the fact that the Papers here printed are from Missionaries of all Denominations, with the exception of Wesleyans, to whom the



Committee did not, for obvious reasons, feel at liberty, at this stage, to communicate on the subject; that the authors, with perhaps one or two exceptions, are acquainted—some of them well acquainted—with the Kafir language, and in the constant habit of speaking it; that a considerable number of them were born in this country, and have been accustomed to speak Kafir from their infancy; and that several of these have been led to make the study of the language a matter of special attention and care. Mr. Soga is himself a Kafir; Mr. Charles Brownlee, Messrs B. and B. Ross, Mr. Chalmers Mr. John Bennie, jun., and Mr. John D. Leing, are all natives of the Country; have spoken Kafir from their infancy; are in the constant habit of conversing with Natives; and some of them have had much experience both in themselves addressing Kafirs, and in interpreting for others; while Messrs Soga and B. Ross in particular have been a good deal employed of late years in translating from English into Kafir, as well as in Original Composition in Kafir, for the press.

It is perhaps necessary to make the remark, though that fully appears from the following papers themselves, that the objection to Mr. Appleyard's Version is, not that the meaning which he wishes to convey is wrong, though in many instances this is undoubtedly the case, but that he does not convey his meaning in correct Kafir—that in short, his language is, to a very great extent, unintelligible, and, in some instances, even offensive, to the people for whose use the Version is intended. That the English Version of the Scriptures, in many instances, fails to give the exact and full meaning of the Original, few will now venture to dispute, but it is equally certain and indisputable that it is a noble specimen of pure, simple, idiomatic English; and, apart from its higher uses as a Revelation of the Divine Will, it has proved a very precious boon to England, in that it has supplied a worthy standard of England's noble language. Mr. Appleyard's Version, on the contrary, it is maintained, can only tend to corrupt, not to ennoble the Kafir language.

WM. GOVAN,

*Convener of Sub-Committee.*

## THE U. P. CHURCH MISSIONARIES.

*From the Rev. TIYO SOGA, Mgweli.*

THE REV. J. LATO, dear Sir—I am not likely to be present at the approaching Conference of Missionaries in January—the reason you know. Before, however, I leave for Cape Town, I wish to send you a few words on the new Translation of the Bible by Mr. Appleyard. This is my small share of contribution to the opinions that the Brethren may express on this important matter.

I. An individual holding the relation which I do towards the Kafir language, may perhaps, in the opinion of some, be likely to be a partial, prejudiced judge in a case like the one before us. To show you, however, that here, the bias of prejudice does not operate, I may state, that the arrival of the New Translation I hailed with satisfaction—we were all—ministers and people alike—so much in need of it. Therefore though giving no opinion of the Book itself, I publicly urged our people to provide themselves with copies without delay.

II. These statements ought to convince you that, in what I am now going to say, I can be moved by no prejudice either against Mr. Appleyard himself, or his book. Besides, I freely make this allowance, viz., that, in making this translation, Mr. Appleyard has spent no ordinary labour. Of this there is abundant internal evidence. I cannot forget also that, as a fellow missionary, he has been—in a noble undertaking—striving to serve the cause of our common Lord and Master in this land.

III. Nevertheless, these considerations cannot shield Mr. Appleyard's book from candid criticism. I did expect that the Kafir of it would—though perhaps not perfect—be a step removed from the last translation. But this is far from being the case. Those who are satisfied with this translation, as well as Mr. Appleyard, must bear to be told, that it never will stand—as a Kafir Bible. It is not in the language which the Kafirs themselves speak.

IV. In looking over this translation, I have set aside the question of Mr. A.'s scholarship—his knowledge of Hebrew and Greek—of which I do not doubt. I have looked at the book as a production in the Kafir language—presenting to the Kafirs themselves and to foreigners, the character of that language. The knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, it must be remembered, can no more help Mr. Appleyard to speak the Kafir as the Kafirs themselves speak it, than the knowledge of the Sisutu can help me to speak the Hindoo as the Hindoos do. Viewing the book in this way, it is a failure; and I venture to make the statement—which though strong is not hasty—that whether we ever get a better translation or not, Mr. Appleyard's Bible will never with the Kafirs, be a familiar—a favorite Bible, as the English is to English-men.

V. But to come to facts in support of my strong condemnation: Take any chapter from any book, or take any column from any page, and you will find challengeable unidiomatic sentences, that not only offend the ear, but make the book unpleasant to read—Do you tell me that such a Bible is in the vernacular of a people?

I here take the opportunity of telling you, that by some Brethren, it has been said, that the Kafir of some missionaries is too high—too difficult. Now I trust these Brethren will have as much candour as to bear to hear as strong statements from the other side. With all affectionate deference to them, here they are not competent judges. Would they like the broken English of our friends, the Germans and the Kafirs, to be taken as the



English which is spoken by the English people, and which these Brethren themselves speak and preach? Without meaning offence to any one, the cases are exactly parallel.

VI. Here are some of the main defects of Mr A.'s Bible:—In reading it, it is an effort—a constant effort—to understand what the meaning of the Kafir is—that is, what is meant by such a combination of Kafir words; or, what would Mr A. be understood as saying did he speak in good Kafir. This defect occurs in places which ought to be plain to a child. In the English Bible the language is so vernacular and idiomatic, that, although you may not catch the theological interpretation of a verse, you have no mistake about the words themselves. To take an illustration—I wish any Brother at the conference would say whether he understands the Kafir of Acts, xxvi. 29; Rom. v. 7. The Gospels are possible, but the Epistles are well nigh as dark as midnight; and they illustrate in *genera*, what the verses quoted do in *particular*.

VII. Mr Appleyard's Kafir is something either altogether above or below the languages of the Kafir people. It has a peculiarity of its own which I cannot very well describe; but it is a peculiarity which makes Kafir readers of his Bible feel (I among the rest) that their mother-tongue is served out to them by a foreigner. See curious examples of extraordinary idiom—Acts xxi. 7, 10; xxvi. 8, 9; xvii. 7, 8, 16, 17. Now these are some only in one Book!

VIII. Were it necessary here, I would adduce instance after instance in every page, where Mr Appleyard makes an ordinary statement of language, to groan under the weight of tremendous words—words which no native, in a simple statement, would think of ever employing. This makes one think of the ridiculousness of shooting a fly with a canon, or of putting an overcoat of a full-grown man upon a little baby. Now I assure you that in so serious a matter, there are not witty, but illustrative, similes. It is a notorious fact, that a man who aspires to speak a language which is foreign to him, is in the practice—both on ordinary and extraordinary occasions of speech—of introducing such *great* words, as raise only a smile to those persons who speak that language. It is so in the book before us.

IX. There are many words in this Bible employed without pains having been taken to understand their precise significations. Consequently, such words, in the connections in which they stand, often express absurd and opposite ideas,—e.g., "Wach"—used by Mr A. in Exodus xix. 3, for "to encamp"—is a word used only to convey the idea of total annihilation, or death, or sleep, of a great number. "Mondoboko"—*ghost*, according to Mr A.; but is used in Kafir to convey the notion of a *long* *settling*, or the swelling of a vein, or the swelling of the application of a *sambok* to the flesh. "Siatomohide aguegahelo ekulu"—Acts, xliii. 14—for "We have bound ourselves under a great curse; really means—"we have got ourselves caught, or caught ourselves *by* a great curse." Instances of this kind are painfully numerous throughout the Bible. See Acts, xviii. 3, 23; xxviii. 23, &c.

X. You come often into contact with a word which has two significations, the first of which, from the way in which the word is put, being absurd, and not the one intended by Mr A. A better knowledge of the language would have enabled him to avoid this defect. See one illustration in Acts xxv. 1, where, by the addition of another syllable Mr Appleyard would have avoided the absurdity of translating—"prossines" by a word that means a *toe*. The *relatives* *soko*, governed by the *prepositions* *sa, by, before, to*, Mr A. fails to translate idiomatically. Again, the preposition *upon* cannot in every case be rendered by *press*, else you land yourself in absurdities. You cannot do this, without doing violence to the language. See one example among many, in Exodus xx. 20. According to the Kafir idiom no *press* should be there at all. So also in Luke, xxiv. 28, you have exemplified another *perpetual* error of Mr Appleyard's in Kafir, where the

*preposition "for,"* followed by the personal pronoun is rendered by *Press*. (See Acts xxvii. 6; xxviii. 26 &c.)

XI. But where I have thoroughly given up Mr Appleyard as a person who knows any thing more than the mere theory of the Kafir language, is in the historical narratives of the Old Testament, which, in style and idiom, so exactly suit the genius of the Kafir language. For fear of being considered as being too severe, I simply state in reference to these histories, that, though you put all the warmth of feeling and interest you can, in the Kafir by which Mr Appleyard has told them, you will never succeed in making them captivating and fascinating to the people.

XII. Mr Appleyard takes liberties with the language. Of course one who does this must consider himself a thorough master of that language. Mr A. takes these liberties by *coining* words which I have never heard used by any native. Here, again, I regret to say that throughout the book such words are by far too many. Mr A. would of course justify this license by maintaining that, in such instances, he has followed the etymology of the words and the analogies of the language. Mr A. however, with all due deference, is not the person to introduce such changes into a foreign language. It is, I think, enough for him to confine himself to what he strictly knows of the language. These novelties almost invariably occur in forced, unnatural connections. For only one example, see Acts xxvii. 1.

XIII. Again—in proper names where a change has been introduced by the people of that language, and is sanctioned by their use, Mr A. thinks it is not so good as one preferred by himself—and that is sure always to be a kind of violence done to the Kafir language. In the English language such changes are introduced by masters of undoubted authority—I believe this is so in all languages. But—

As these remarks are already too long I must stop short. I have indeed said enough perhaps to be marked and remarked upon. But then it is in such a matter as this, that it ought not much to concern one to be too cautious. Be kind enough to read this letter to the conference.

I am, my dear sir, yours truly—TYRO SOGA.

EMGOWALI MISSION STATION, 2d Sept. 1866.

The Rev. JAMES LANGE, Secy. of Conference of Missionaries.

Dear Sir—Your Circular of the 6th July, 1866, inviting criticisms on Mr Appleyard's Bible, to be submitted to a Conference of Missionaries of various Denominations, to be held at King William's Town, on the first Wednesday of September, came to hand. You are aware that I have already, in a paper, given my own estimate of Mr Appleyard's Kafir Bible. I shall, however, in obedience to the call of your circular, and in consideration also of the importance of the subject, add here to the criticisms in the original paper to which I refer.

I. I trust it may ever be understood that in this matter, we have nothing to do with the Translator or his labours—but only with the integrity of the Kafir language, as a medium of communicating Scriptural knowledge to the Kafir people.

II. As a rule, in the narratives of the New Testament, Mr Appleyard's use of the Auxiliary Verb, "*sondeka*," which is very common, is wrong. In the right use of the language, you cannot commence an independent sentence with it, as Mr A. often does. This *Verb* completes the sense of a narrative, or statement of facts or events, by qualifying the words which renders that sense complete in the ears of the listener. Examples of this objectionable use of the verb are to be met with in John vi. 5, 28, 41, 53; vii. 6, 25, 28, 33, 36, 45; viii. 12, 21, 26, 28, 41, 42, 46, 52, 57, 59. Such examples are endless throughout the Gospels.

III. As illustrations of Remark XII. in the original paper, where I state

that Mr A. takes liberties with the language by coining words of his own, take the following words—*isepara*, *uhomo*, *anapokolo*—*kedemel*—*kayo*, *la-mangolokisa*, *unqinietwa*, *unindusa*, *inkhuliso*—*umimela*—*ngokuti ngqongile*! *ukhoqoqolawa*.

IV. The way in which many adverbs are used by Mr Appleyard, suggests the idea of their having been introduced at random, and by mere guess. It may be difficult to give a rule to a foreigner for their use, but those well acquainted with the Kafir language know—that to the Native, they fall into their places in sentences, by a natural ease and propriety. Here are some of the adverbs to which I refer—*yada*, *polu*, *ke*, *nje*, *lanti*, *kukona*, *okuya*, *kwa*, *saka*, *wada*, *kunda*. I have the same objection against the use of such Auxiliary Verbs as—*de*, *ti*, *be*, *walekela*, *kwayekule*. V. There are forms of speech in Mr A's Bible, that defy criticism, where verbs lose their moods and tenses in strange combinations—a degradation both of the evocative or facts be translated, and the Kafir language. To give specimens—see Acts, xxv. 10; xxvi. 8, 19, 29; xxvii. 7, 8, 16, 29, 30, 33, 34, 36, 39-44; xxviii. 1-4, 7-9, 11, 14-20, 23, 25, 26, 28, 30.

VI. The Epistle of St. James abounds with examples of the same being obscured and changed by the use of great words, the shades of whose meaning is clearly not understood by the Translator. I took this Epistle at random simply, and out of 95 verses, full of other errors, I have marked upwards of 40 mistakes of the kind I refer to. Yet the Epistle is one of the simplest in translating. Examples:—Vr. 2—"Xeshitweni *sinelelo* *enqinoyeni* *amantini*" means "when you fall upon many *enqinoyeni*. *Awalingo*, cannot mean *frigate* or *temptation*. Vr. 4—"Ningawelaki *ngantio*" means, that you be not scarce by or for nothing. Vr. 7—"Mabanga *bi gq' locomitu*"—let not that *aisent* mean *by the way* &c. Vr. 9—"Ningawelaki *enqinoyeni*—*enqinoyeni*—no such words in Kafir to denote *lowliness* and *exaltation* of rank or degree. They are invented, and convey no idea of the Apostle's meaning. "Naye enqinoyeni *yakushubana* *enqinoyeni* *zake*" I would take this to say—also the rich man shall *confer* into *wisdom* in the *objects* of his *travels*. *Isakambo*—is the purpose of a journey, if the word must be used. Vr. 13—"Kuba *eyakuti* *akhe* *obekhe* *nekhe* *le* &c." There is surely an error by the printer here—the words as they stand mean—for when *he shall have been rejoiced over as a son* *le*—*ukubeka* is to be *glad* over an object or event of recent occurrence. Vr. 13—"Mabanga *unntu* *akungwa* *ukuti* *nizingwa* *ngu-Tixo*" means let not a man say when *he is beset* *constantly* by another, *I am constantly beset by God*. *Ukuzingwa* is to *beset* another *constantly*—to be *always* at his *heels*. The idea of *trying* or *tempting* is foreign to the word. The idea conveyed to the mind by the use of this verb in verses 13, 14, is very harsh and painful—*yea revelling* as referring to God. Vr. 17—"Okuya *kungoko* *ku-guquleka* *neebuxi* *okujika*"—To no person can such a combination of incongruous words convey a meaning. I cannot translate them back into English. Yet what a beautiful thought is here destroyed! Vr. 19—"Mabuzi *bonko* *abantu* *ngabanye*, &c. *bebakela* *ukutela*, *kabakela* *umando*"—means let every man *forget* to speak, *forget* to hear. Vr. 20—"Ngobubia *ukuqumha* *kromntu* *kungazuzisi* *ubungaba* *buka-Tixo*" means—for the wrath of man, does not cause the righteousness of God to be *obscured*. Vr. 21—"Mabuzi *ngobubia* *umaleke* *liwazi* *edibakheyo* &c." means—and receive with meekness *the word* which is *sons* in you, not *enqinoyeni*—*enqinoyeni*. Vr. 23—"Ningawelaki *kutela*, *yena* lo *ufana* *nontu* *ebekela* *ubuso* *bake* *ebekela* *enqinoyeni*" means—and yet not being a *doer*, he, the same, is like a man, *looking* as a *spectator* his *face* of *enqinoyeni*—or *appearing* in a *Book*.—There is a word to qualify *Book*, to make the word mean "a looking glass." *Ukubonela*—is to look on as a *spectator*—*never*—*to behold*. In such a use of words, it becomes impossible for one to recognise his own mother-tongue. I venture to say no one else can know what is meant. Vr. 24—"Ngobubia *ezibonela*, *wumkoko* *waba* *nozikela* *matyisa*" means, for *seeing* *seen*

for *himself*, and *gone away*, *is so happened* *that* *he forgot* *immediately*, &c. Chapter ii. 5—"bebo *ebekela* *shakweni*"—means *having been* *first*—not "rich in faith." Vr. 13—"Kanti *unibelo* *beyongedela* *ukugweba*" means—and yet *mercy* *teasingly*—*travelling* *rejoices* *over* *judging*. *Ukugwebela*, has only the meaning of being *travelling*—*teasingly*—*travelling* *glad*. Vr. 18—"Kanti *kuyakuti* *unntu*" means—and yet it will happen so that a man. Vr. 20—"Mntundini *unibuleyo*, for O vain man, means—O man *envoy*. *Ukunyula* means a state of the mind precisely the opposite of that described by the homely, but expressive, English phrase—"A *Not* *side* *case*."

Chap. iii. 9—"Ukuzingwa means to go as *front* and turn an object that is *receiving*. Never applied and cannot be applied to the *human body*. Vr. 4. *Untu* *enqinoyeni* would suggest the idea, that *ships* are *serviced* *over* by a piece of wood. *Ukuzingwa* is to *serve* *over*, to *accompany*, not to *serve* *about*—*never*! Vr. 6—"Juthelela *inqinoyeni* *yevelo*." This baffles all translation, and all interpretation! what is meant by it I don't know.

Vr. 8—"Isisikholakalo *enqinoyeni* *enqinoyeni*"—conveys no meaning whatsoever. Vr. 12—"amanquma"—are ornaments of birds' skins, and of small game skins—which Kafir boys make and wear—as "amanquma *enqinoyeni*." Yet this word is taken for *berries*! Vr. 17—"Akw"—*amanquma* *enqinoyeni*. Vr. 18—"Let this verb be read *Ukuzingwa*, is to *drive*—to *coax*, to *flatter*. Vr. 18—Let this verb be read to *any* person, and see if any intelligible idea can be attached to it.

Chap. iv. 2—"Nizazondela *nokuzondela*." There is no such use of words or ideas in Kafir—this is meaningless—if the words mean anything at all, they suggest the idea of *temptation* *hated*, instead of "ye desire to have." Vr. 3—"U-Moya *amoya* *kuti* *uyakunika* *ngomonana*?" means, Does the Spirit which stands to us or in us *lust* by or *through* *any*? Vr. 7—"Meluni *u-Selana*" means,—*stand* for the Devil—not *resist*, &c. Vr. 13—"esikweni *salapa*" means in a city of *this place*—not "into such a city." Vr. 14—"bukwayiyo *inkungu* *ebomalela* *ixelama*" &c. means—it is even a vapour that is *transparent*, for a little time. Vr. 15—"sukela," is to be *transparent*—as *glass* or *water*—or a *stone*. Vr. 15—"Sikwenas *oku*, *unhlambini* *oku*." It is in the wrong rendering into Kafir of even such *simple* forms of language, as "do this or that,"—that one sees the defectiveness of this Translation of the Bible.

Chap. v. 3—"Niselele *indyebo* *emhleni* *yokugqibela*," has no intelligible meaning. Nor Vr. 6—"Nizondhile *inhalixiyo* *zenu* *njengasemini* *yabuzela*. Nor Vr. 7—"esaka *kudo* *pezu* *kwaso*." Vr. 20—"etidelelelele" is an invented word of no signification. Now let these criticisms be carried over into any Book of this Translation, and the inconsistencies and obscurities of meaning become truly appalling.

VII. There are Auxiliary verbs made use of by Mr Appleyard to qualify or govern other verbs, in a way that is impossible in Kafir. Examples—"kwozi *kunjako* *niyakwandula*"—"Kwaso *kwati* *esendela*"—"wayivuni" *ka*—"kwaso *kwati* *kwandula* *ukuti*." "Kwayekute *wandula*." *Kwayekute* *akumpubuphanga*, *Kodwa* *suka*, *bonako* *lwa* *oku*." "Ote *impindiselo* *ayimvumelanga*..." *ngokuti* *ngqongile*.

VIII. I have taken chapters here and there throughout the Bible and examined them narrowly, with the following results:—

In Genesis 3rd chap. there are 24 verses, out of which I have marked 23 errors, grammatical and idiomatic. (Vrs. 1, 3, 5-7, 9-13, 16-19, 23, 24.)

In Exodus 12th chap. there are 51 verses, out of which there are 46 errors, grammatical and idiomatic. (Vrs. 1, 3-8, 10-13, 14-18, 20, 26, 27, 29, 31, 34-41, 46, 49, 51.)

In the 51st Psalm, which has 19 verses, there are 19 errors of the same kind. Ps. li. 3, 4, 6-8, 10, 12-19. Be it noted that these grammatical and idiomatic errors are often *twice* or *three* times repeated in a verse.

In Isaiah 53d chap. which contains 12 verses, I have marked 25 errors of the same kind. (Vn. 1-12).

In "Acts of the Apostles," 24 chap., where there are 47 verses, there are 31 errors. Acts ii. 1-3, 6, 8, 10, 13, 14, 17, 18, 21, 22, 25, 31, 33, 38, 42, 45-47. In the 3rd chap., which has 25 verses, there are marked 25 errors, grammatical and idiomatic. Acts iii. 2-7, 10-13, 15-20, 23-26. The narrative of St. Paul's shipwreck, in the 27th chap. is most darkly told. Its 44 verses contain 22 errors of the same grave kind. Acts xxvii.—3, 7, 8, 16, 17, 22, 26, 29, 30, 33-36, 39, 40, 43-44. The Kafir of this chapter is of quite a baffling description to any who feel disposed to examine it. The 28th chapter is, in all these respects the same. I have marked 41 errors, grammatical and idiomatic, out of 31 verses. Acts xxviii. 1-11, 14-20, 22-26, 28, 30. The greater part of the 15th chap. of 1 Corinthians is totally unintelligible in Kafir—that is to a person well acquainted with scripture, —to any other it is wholly useless. Its 58 verses contain 50 errors. 1 Cor. xv. 2, 6-11, 14, 17-19, 23-29, 44, 46, 47-49, 54, 56, 58.

Unless, indeed, we are required to write volumes, the above statements are, I think, sufficient to show that Mr Appleyard's Kafir Bible cannot be accepted. I have consulted three intelligent Natives about it, who declare, so dark is it to them, that they take it up invariably with reluctance. In the uses I have personally to make of it, I am sorry to say, this is my own experience.

I am, my dear Sir, yours truly,—TYO SOGA.

From the Rev. J. A. CHALMERS, Henderson.

THE REV. JAMES LALING, Burnahill.  
HENDERSON, Sept. 3rd, 1866.

Dear Sir—Since the new translation of the Scriptures into the Kafir language has been published, I have had occasion carefully to examine it, and I regret to say, that the conclusion to which I have come, with reference to it, is that whilst it is very creditable as the work of a foreigner, it is painfully deficient as a correct translation. I have been somewhat at a loss, since receiving your circular, how, in a few sentences, to describe its faults, for they are so numerous, and run through the whole volume from the first sentence to the last. I have been always under the impression, that as I was born in this country, and acquired the Kafir language in youth, that I could both read it fluently and understand it; but when I take up this new translation I find a great difficulty in reading it, and have often to refer to the English version to understand what is meant. As for reading it in public, this I dare not do, without having looked over the chapter to be read, in order to correct the blunders which I am sure to meet. There is no pleasure in reading it, for it is often quite unintelligible, and I have no hesitation whatever in saying, that to the natives it is a sealed book. The four following are, to my mind, its most glaring errors:—

I.—It is Ungrammatical.

II.—It is not Idiomatic.

III.—It abounds in words which are not in use in the Kafir language.

IV.—It abounds in words which are not used in their proper signification. To illustrate these points by giving you one third of the errors I have met with in my use of this translation would extend my remarks much beyond a desirable limit. Let me therefore refer you to the 3rd chapter of 1 Samuel, as one from which I took a text lately, and by simply translating it into English, you will see these four points I have mentioned fully illustrated. When I took up the Kafir Bible, I thought, "Here is a simple chapter, surely it will be correctly translated." But to my disappointment I found it rendered in a style in which no Kafir would ever narrate any circum-

stance—its beauty and pathos are completely lost. Read that chapter to any Kafir natives, and I make bold to say that you would fail to arrest their attention. As it is at present translated they would not understand what you were reading. If there is one power more than another of which the Kafir language can boast, it is that of *nerroto*, and the finest passages of the Word of God would lose nothing in the hands of a competent translator. But when I turn to the present translation, these passages are completely mangled and robbed of their charm and beauty.

Let us see how the translator renders 1 Samuel iii.—"Now a young man, Samuel, did serve Jehovah, in the face of Eli. The word of God did fetch a high price in those few days; there was not a vision that was open. It so happened at that time, while Eli was lain down in his place, when his eyes began to be indistinct that he found it difficult to see, while the candle of God was not yet put out, and while Samuel was lain down in the temple of Jehovah, where the ark of God it was there; then Jehovah did call Samuel, who was saying, Here I am. Then he hastened for to Eli: said, Here I am, because you did call me. But he said, I called not: Return: lie down. He then went and lay down. In addition, Jehovah called Samuel again. Samuel arose, went to Eli, said, Here I am, because you did call me. Then he said: I called not my son! Return and lie down. Now Samuel did not yet know Jehovah: again the word of Jehovah was not yet revealed to him. Jehovah again called Samuel, for the third time. He arose, went to Eli, said, I am here, because you did call me. Then Eli understood that Jehovah has called the young man. Therefore Eli said to Samuel: Go, lie down; it will happen, while he is calling you, you will then to say: Speak Jehovah! because thy servant is hearing. Then Samuel went and lay down in his place. Then Jehovah came and stood, and called as unto the other times, saying: Samuel, Samuel! Then said Samuel, speak, because thy servant is hearing."

"Jehovah was saying to Samuel: See then, I will do it a thing unto Israel, who will, all their hear it, their two ears will ring. In the day that I will raise beside Eli, all that I have spoken concerning his house; I will, when I begin, finish."

"I have already told him, that I will judge his house for ever, because of the wickedness which he did know; because his sons did make themselves the scourged, yet he did not make them wild although. For that reason, therefore, I have sworn by the house of Eli, that the wickedness of the house of Eli will not be forgiven by sacrifice and by the most offering for ever."

"Now Samuel slept until it dawned: then he opened the doors of the house of Jehovah. But Samuel was afraid to tell a vision to Eli. Then Eli did call Samuel, and said, Samuel, my son! He was saying: Here am I. Then he said the word, What is it, which he has spoken to you? You must not hide it from me: God must do that to you, in addition, to do that, if you conceal a word of all the words which he was speaking to you. Then Samuel told him all those words, and concealed nothing. He was saying: It is Jehovah: He must do what is right in his eyes."

"Samuel then grew: Then Jehovah he was with him; He let fall not one among all his words towards the ground. Then all Israel, from Dan until among Beer-sheba did know it, that Samuel is made fast to be a Prophet of Jehovah. In addition, Jehovah did appear at Shiloh: because Jehovah was revealing himself to Samuel by the word of Jehovah."

That the work is ungrammatical, as illustrated by this simplest of chapters, is very evident, and you need not go beyond the perpetual occurrence of the words, "Owabelesi," and "wayesiti," &c.—to convince you.

That it is not idiomatic, take such expressions as "Ebenweni buku Hail!" verse 1. "wakobwa kukubona," verse 2, &c. That it abounds in words that are not used in the Kafir language, take "wagidimela," verse 5. "Born ko" verse 11. "Kuzodiselwa," verse 14. "Iizwi" "Izina," verse 17, &c.

That it abounds in words which are not used in their proper significances... take "huzi"—"Evegabandwobist"—"aquiselwe," &c.  
Verse 1—Samuel was not an "umfesa"—a young man. The Hebrew word certainly sometimes is used as applicable to a young man; but the context clearly shows that Samuel was a mere child.  
Iliwii *higobele* ought to have been translated by a word meaning *care* not *dear*.

*Ngezontoku*—refers to a few days.

Verse 2—*huzi* cannot be applied to one's eyes—in Kafir, it refers to an object as seen indistinctly.

Mr Appleyard sometimes propounds a very strange doctrine—as e.g., in Rom. vii. 2 see what he says:—"Because a wife that is under a husband is bound by law to her husband while he is sitting; but when the husband *is ill* she is loosed from the law of the husband."

That he often makes a solemn narrative by a most ridiculous translation, see Luke xviii. 23:—

"He then, when he heard this, became very sorrowful, because *he was very fat*."—or Psalm cxxii. 9—"Of a truth I have prepared, and comforted my soul as a child, (a calf) taken away from its mother—my soul with in me is as a child, (a calf) that is weaned"—certainly the word *calf* does not appear, but the word "ukukunyulwa" refers only to a calf taken away from its cow—never to a weaned child. The word he intended to use is *skutanda*. In Mark xvi. 9, Does the translator wish us to believe that it was our Saviour from whom the *seers devils* were rejected, because his translation of the passage undoubtedly bears that meaning? That the Translator, instead of seeking a Kafir word, simply Kafirizes the Hebrew or English word, is evident from Matt. vii. 6, in which he renders the word *pearl* "iperule." Or Luke viii. 26, the word *swell* is rendered *kesekisela*. Or Jonah iv. 6, where the Hebrew word for a *gourd* is simply Kafirized into "Izikayona." It is really difficult to say what a Kafir will understand by these words. Any other word in the English or Hebrew language would have done as well as these he has used. For example, the word *gourd* may have been translated *liagazana*—a runner.

That the translator often simply mistakes the reader, take Rom. x. 7—there is no sense, whatever, can be extracted from this passage. Let us see how it can be rendered?—"Because, perhaps, it is difficult, there is who will die for a good one; although there may be, perhaps, there is who has also bravery to die—that one who is nazy." Take the English Bible from the translator, and give him Rom. ii. 14-17, and I am certain that he could not extract any meaning from his own translation of the passage.

But why multiply instances? The work is a failure so far as it is a rendering of the Word of God into the Kafir language. There can be no delight in taking up such a work to read it, for it is a sealed book. It is impossible to speak to our people about the beauties of the Bible, for none according to this translation are evident, and the sooner we have a correct one the better. All honour to Mr Appleyard for his unwearied labours, for the intense anxiety he must have experienced in translating it—all honour to him in seeking to spread the knowledge of the word of God; but we who have learned the language in our youth, who know its idioms, feel, as we take up this volume, that it is the work of one who has still to learn the Kafir language.

You ask for the opinion of intelligent natives; in reply I have to state, that they are sadly disappointed. One tells me that he has to keep the English Bible beside him whilst reading the Bible in his own tongue—another says it is a mixture of languages—a third, who is an Evangelist, after using the present translation a few weeks, came and begged the copy I formerly used in Church, as he said, "I can not read this one, and the people do not understand it."

I am Sir, yours truly,—JOHN A. CHALMERS.

## THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH MISSIONARIES.

From the Rev. W. GREENSTOCK, St. Matthew's.

To the Rev. JAMES LANGE, St. Matthew's, Aug. 15th, 1896.

Dear Sir—I have to acknowledge the receipt of a circular from you, as Secretary of the Committee of Missionaries appointed to collect information concerning the translation of the Holy Scriptures into Kafir. In answer to your enquiry I have to state, that I consider the Version lately published by the British and Foreign Bible Society to be very unsatisfactory. My objections are—

1st.—Its want of idiomatic accuracy. (For instances see Appendix A.)

2nd.—Its redundancy of expression. (See Appendix B.) Only a limited portion of the Bible has been examined—a few chapters here and there. An extended search would, no doubt, have revealed many more errors, as the whole structure of the language employed is faulty. I have native authority for every correction.

I have asked an intelligent native to look through the Gospel of St. John, and he has marked upwards of 140 mistakes. (See Appendix C.)

He has also written a note, embodying his views on the subject. This I give in the original. (See Appendix D.)

While recognizing the vast amount of labour bestowed on the translation, and the liberality of the British and Foreign Bible Society, I feel it to be, nevertheless, a duty to reject this Version, as it tends to give the natives a wrong impression of the Word of God; and its use in Schools is likely to have a prejudicial effect on the language of the rising generation.

I find the Natives unwilling to buy the book, they prefer former Versions with all their manifest imperfections.

I earnestly hope that an entirely new Translation will be undertaken by competent persons, without delay. I consider it a necessary qualification for the proper performance of the work, that the translator should have acquired the language in early youth.

I have reason to believe that a Version by the Revs. B. and R. Ross, the Rev. Mr Kayser, Jun. and the Rev. T. Soga, would be acceptable to the natives.

I remain, Rev. Sir, yours very faithfully—W. GREENSTOCK.

## APPENDIX A.

Passages.	Rev. Mr Appleyard.	Kafir.
Gen. i. 9 Ubuso beensulu.		Pem kwesulu.
25 N.B. (Maka ye zulu = Kafir for fighting.)		
ii. 23 Lo kaloku ulisambo emamjani Kaloku eli lisambo lamalambo		am.
22 Umfasi.		Inkama.
24 Lyakumshiya uyise.		Yomama uyise.
iii. 19 Ngokubela kwobuso bako aya-		Woka ubile wand'ukut ubile
Intya.		or woka ubile utuze ubile.
20 Wambini umfasi wake igama.		Wamta umfasi wake igama.
vi. 2 Abasigachayo.		Abasindayo or abasinyulayo.
xii. 1 Hamba umke.		Ivuka umke.
9 Khambela.		Edaga fesi.
xvii. 6 Bays kuvela nokumani.		Kuyakupama okumani.
8 Ilizwe lokupambukela kwako.		Ilizwe obalileyo kulo.
xviii. 11 Kwakupesive.		Kwakunqamile or kwakupesile.
12 Indala nje mayo.		Nayo sayalupele nje.
39 Makungqumbisi enkoeni.		An; malingqumbi Inkosi.



- xxii. 17 Njengekwenkwenzi.  
 xxxiv. 20 Nizuze imfuyo.  
 xxxiv. 25 Bata bati izirelo zabo abanye ngabanye.  
 xxxix. 7 Wajolisa amehlo.  
 xlii. 28 Kuyimisa oku?  
 xliii. 7 Ngokutseta kwamaswi.  
 xliii. 30 Umbilini wako wawuta pesu kwominaswe.  
 xlv. 1 Xenzani bapume bonke.  
 Ex. xii. 7 Balibeka.  
 22 Kungqweni.  
 31 Nipume ebantwini.  
 39 Lwada lwakohlwa ukubhala.  
 xlii. 19 Ebelokisile ukufingisa.  
 xiv. 2 Lodi wana.  
 4 Ndize ndigweniswe.  
 25 Wabengula nentli.  
 29 Alo ludonga.  
 xvi. 15 Lwazi obanye kolunye.  
 xvii. 2 Abantu bapikhi.  
 xxii. 30 Nina nomile.  
 Lev. xi. 29-30—(Dislocation of names of Nu. xvi. 12) Asiyikunyika.  
 41 Nina nibalele.  
 xlii. 4 Abodada.  
 6 Kungesi ndingaba zamaandla.  
 13 Esala u-Jehova ukundivumela.  
 1-Sam. ii. 9 Baya kuthi cwaka.  
 Pro. xx. 17 Umiso... wozala.  
 24 Amanystela.  
 xli. 13 Kwa yina yitakula.  
 30 Ngababala kade pesu kwev-Yine.  
 Eucanam yunaste.  
 xlii. 28 Kungoko tuba.  
 31 Unaso bawo bebungungelwe.  
 xxviii. 4 Abashiyayo umteto.  
 Ec. iv. 11 Bayalalana.  
 Isaiah. i. 2 Unike indlelo.  
 18 Zinjengesibonvu.  
 30 Omagqabi abunayo.  
 ii. 11 Bekwa pesulu.  
 v. 2 Wavugela.  
 5 Ngoko kaloku.  
 7 Surudo lwake.  
 11 Kwa kuso kahwile.  
 12 Nenebela.  
 28 Zobalwa ngokuba njengeliya.  
 Rom. ii. 17 Uqayisano ku-Tixo.  
 23 Uqayisayo emntweni.  
 vi. 13 Zizicaka emntweni.  
 vii. 2 Nxa isahlayo.  
 Njengekwenkwenzi.  
 Nqwebo imfuyo.  
 Walo wo wababala irele lake.  
 Wafak' amehlo.  
 Yintonisa lo?  
 Ngokubambisa kwamaswi.  
 Imkisiyo yake ibiqaka ngumiso.  
 Kupani bonke or yitshoni bapume bonke.  
 Nididiyobe.  
 Kongsenhla umgubasi.  
 Ninkke ebantwini or nipume paki kwabanta bam.  
 Ababinkubhala.  
 Ebefungisa kakulu.  
 Balalise.  
 Ndandiyakuyika.  
 Wanyotula imilenze.  
 Aye zindonga.  
 Bati omnye komnye.  
 Abantu balwa.  
 Nonile mina.  
 (animal).  
 Asasiyikuzi.  
 Nibabulele.  
 Amazanti.  
 Mhlayimbi ndiyakoyisa.  
 Inkosi indalele.  
 Bayakuzola.  
 Umiso... wozala.  
 Ibumbo.  
 Uyakula naye.  
 Abo ababala fusi etywaleni.  
 Eucotsheni yopondo lwangama-wa.  
 Ngapandilo kwesantu.  
 Ebequbungele umhlaba.  
 Abo balahla umteto.  
 Balale ndawonye.  
 Upelapule or uboko indlebe.  
 Zerwelo ukuba bonvu.  
 Obune amagqabi.  
 Pakayiswa.  
 Euma kumene.  
 Wawuqokolela.  
 Isayovalu.  
 He!  
 Esibhe.  
 Bade batshonise llanga.  
 Nefdyoli.  
 Kotwa zinjengeliye.  
 Uqayisano ngo-Tixo.  
 Uqayisayo ngomteto.  
 Zizicaka zokuncola.  
 Xa isahlayo.

- vii. 2 Indoda ifayo.  
 4 Nenzima nidle.  
 14 Ndingiselwe ngapantsi.  
 viii. 3 Ekufaneni.  
 17 Sizinhlalifa ku-Tixo.  
 21 Kona ukudalwa.  
 30 Bonsaba.  
 Indoda idlayo.  
 Ndingubulayo or nenawo nafa.  
 Ndingiselwe ndangapantsi.  
 Afano.  
 Sizinhlalifa zika-Tixo.  
 Sona isidalwa.  
 Kwa bona.  
 APPENDIX B.  
 Gen. i. 7 Kwaye kunjalo ke.  
 14 Zisenze isahlalo.  
 31 Kaloku, bona ke.  
 ii. 2 Waye u-Tixo ebegqibile.  
 26 Bengubanga nankhoni.  
 iii. 22 Wayesidi.  
 vi. 11 Wanbe... wozala.  
 ix. 1 Waye u-Tixo entamsanqela.  
 14 Ndakulana ifu isibekile.  
 xii. 3 N d a n d i y a kutamsanqela abo abasamsanqela wena, malowo okungalekisiyo ndiyakungalekisi sa yena.  
 15 Zoye zimbona.  
 20 Konke abenako.  
 xvii. 2 Ndikwandiso nokukwandisa ngokukulu kakulu.  
 18 Akona u-S. ebengqibileyo.  
 xvii. 28 Ngokwawo umhla lowo.  
 xix. 2 Nibambo ngadibela yena.  
 17 Zisindise ngenxa yobomi bako.  
 xvii. 3 Undizungele inyanu yenyuma kazi.  
 46 Ndikutabata kona.  
 xxxiv. 1 Intumbi zakwobizwa.  
 17 Simke ke.  
 26 Ngobhlongoti lwisirele.  
 xlii. 35 Banokwovika.  
 xliii. 9 Mandandule ukusilwa iyala.  
 22 Nemali yimbi syibilale esadhemu setu, yokuba sitenge ukutya.  
 Ex. xii. 9 Ningadhi kuvo irwada nepeki weyo ipekiwe ngamunzi.  
 10 Niya kukutshisa.  
 20 Indawo zokubhala kwenu.  
 xii. 25 Kwakuya kuthi nakufika.  
 26 Kwaza kwala.  
 46 Aniyi kwapuli nabanye itambo layo.  
 xiv. 2 Usapo luka-Sirayeli.  
 12 Ngapazu kwokuba.  
 xvi. 3 Sibho sinitya isonka kwada kwabulwa.  
 xvii. 5 Uyipate.  
 7 Wabisa igama lomdawo ngo-Wati lomdawo yi-Masa.  
 Indoda idlayo.  
 Ndingubulayo or nenawo nafa.  
 Ndingiselwe ndangapantsi.  
 Afano.  
 Sizinhlalifa zika-Tixo.  
 Sona isidalwa.  
 Kwa bona.  
 Kwaye kunjalo ke.  
 Zisenze isahlalo.  
 Kaloku.  
 Waugqiba u-Tixo.  
 Bengubangkhoni.  
 Wati.  
 Atye.  
 Wawonakele.  
 U-Tixo wamsikolula.  
 Ndakusibekisa.  
 Ndobesthelela abakusilelayo ndimqalekise okungalekisiyo.  
 Zambona.  
 Konke anako.  
 Ndikwandiso kakulu.  
 Wanga u-S. angabala.  
 Kwazigalomini.  
 Nibambo.  
 Sindisa ubomi bako.  
 Undibulalele inyamakazi.  
 Ndikutabata.  
 Indombi zezozwa.  
 Simke.  
 Ngosiniso.  
 Boyika.  
 Ndiyakuba netyala.  
 Sipote n enye imali yokutenga ukudlha.  
 Ningayidhi rwada nakwepkiweyo ngamunzi.  
 Nokutshisa.  
 Imizi yena.  
 Kuthi nakufika.  
 Kute.  
 Ningapuli tambo layo.  
 Ama-Sirayeli.  
 Kunokuba.  
 Satya ikonko sada sahluta.  
 Yipate.  
 Wati lomdawo yi-Masa.

Nu. xvi. 15	Wabe u-M. enqumbile.	U-M. waqumba.
48	Saza labulala saqumbile.	Nesifo sadi ngum.
xiii.	6 Lowo umisungqelisayo uye- kutyanyungqelilewa, nokuba lowo umqalekisayo uya kuq- lekiswa.	Omsikelelayo uyafikelelwa, nomqalekisayo uyafikelelwa.
13	Hambani niye alikweni lemu.	Godukani.
24	Udonga ngelobala zodonga lu- ngelobala.	Udonga ngamacala omabini.
Pro. xii. 19	Pesu kwokokuba kuhlalewe.	Kusokubhala.
xxiii. 1	Nxa ubhala pentel ukuba uye.	Nxa uzakuya.
Iso. i. 80	Ekungeliso muni kuwo.	Ongumangalis.
Rom. i. 28	Owongonakaliyo.	Ongumakaliyo.
24	Ngako oko kanyaho.	Ngako oko.
ii.	5 Uze uti.	Uti.
8	Sinyaniso ke.	Inyaniso.
4	Ukuzo ubo ugweyvelwa.	Ukuzo ugweyvelwe.
v.	18 Simalo ukolo.	Simoxolo.
vi. 28	Mina.	Mina.
viii. 2	Undikubulelele.	Undikubule.
7	Ingengje njalo kumbe.	Ingabe nako.
6	Banjengokwenyama.	Banjenganyama.
	Banjengokwo-Moya.	Banjengokwo-Moya.

## APPENDIX C.

St. Jo. i. 5	Luti ukanyiso.	Ukanyiso.
9	Bezelwe ngo-Tixo.	Bezelwe ngo-Tixo.
13	Bezelwe ngo-Tixo.	Bezelwe ngo-Tixo.
16	Kwa nofefe.	Ufefe.
18	Oyena warizilla.	Nguye omtyilileyo
22	Abo basitumayo.	Abasitumileyo
	Ngengqo soho.	Ngengqoko.
29	Isano seliwe.	Ukona kweliswa.
31	Kakona.	Kungoko.
35	Kwa nababini.	Nababini.
38	Uhlala pina ?	Uhlali pina ?
45	Uzuzo plus ukundazi kwako ?	Undazi nganina ?
	Wakuba ubungapantsi.	Oko ubungapantsi.
50	Ngokokuba ndazi ndakubona.	Ngokuba ndize kuwe ndakubona
ii.	4 Ndiyintonisa kuwe, mifazi.	( <i>W hat oca I to thee, Wife.</i> )
	6 Thamba ibata.	Irathisa yimlinganis.
7	Kwada kwakwo umpeto.	Yada yadi eiki.
10	Kubolile.	Kubolilewe.
11	Oku ukqela.	Lowo ngowokupela.
15	Wasipenula.	Wasitisa or wasitukusa.
16	Nabo abebetengisa.	Nabebetengisa.
19	Pabati kwentsetu.	Ngentsetu.
20	Nawe woyinisa.	Wena woyinisa.
22	Ngako okuya abevakile.	Kwasi akuba ebevukile.
23	Bebona.	Bakubona.
	Ebengawela.	Ebengafuni.
iii.	25 Kunquwe 'matu.	Anququwe ngomtu.
	26 Ngebanuku.	Ebanuku.
	5 Kvela.	Ovela.
	5 Akangangene.	Akangangene.
	7 Ndzazi kuwe.	Ndize kuwe.

10	Wosirayeli na.	Wo-Sirayeli nje.
	Nesikinto akuzazi na ?	Akuzazi na ?
34	Ngokulinganisa.	Ngokulinganisa.
iv.	6	Belileli njalo.
10	Waye engu etc.	Nge etc.
20	Nani niti.	Nina niti.
29	Owundilelayo.	Ondilelayo.
32	Ndikubule.	Ndikubule.
36	Uwankile.	Uwankile.
47	Yali yona ke.	Yali yona.
52	Waqipela.	Waqala ukupila.
54	Ummangalis.	Ngumangalis.
v.	3	Ukubakuma.
6	Akuti.	Waza.
8	Pata.	Tata or tabata.
9	Waselenziwa opilla.	Waselenziwa.
11	Oyena wati.	Nguye etc.
12	Lamula.	Lowomula.
14	Wenzire upilla.	Umlisire.
16	Abesiti ke.	Ati ke.
17	Wabesiti.	Ubessiti.
28	Ektukulo.	Ngulo.
33	Nikumile.	Netama.
36	Randiwanikiweyo.	Endiyinikiweyo.
37	Owanditumayo.	Onditumileyo.
38	Lihlala.	Lihleli.
	Nibe nkolwa.	Nakolwa.
46	Ng-Mosesi nye, Ngamba niko- lwa.	Ng-Mosesi, ngumkolwa.
vi.	15	Bamusa.
17	Ebengekafile.	Bamabata.
18	Uquta nye.	Ebengekafili.
21	Yaboko.	Uquta.
30	Uwenzayo wena pofu.	Yafika.
38	Ndiyenze.	Uwenzayo wena.
45	Bobri bunke befundiswa.	Ndenze.
57	Ngelaba lika-Bawo.	Bayafundiswa bonka.
61	Oku kunzakalisa na ?	Ng-Bawo.
62	Pofu xshokweni.	Kayisizakalisa oku ?
vi.	66	Bayu ngomva.
vii.	3	Bakoxela.
	8	Alisalekile.
10	Bebenyuke.	Babuya.
11	Abesiti.	Babuse.
12	Alahlekisa.	Alisali.
18	Oufana.	Bobenyukile.
27	Ukuba urela pina.	Ati.
30	Owabola isandla peru kwake.	Ulahlekisa.
31	Okuya alikayo.	Oufumayo.
34	Aningisa.	Oufumayo.
35	Ama-Girile nye.	Owarabamba.
41	Uvela.	Akufika.
viii.	5	Wena pofu uni nina ?
	7	Ukuposa lithe ngakuya.
10	Owakufweba na ?	Ukuphikisela ngelitye.
23	Kubabata ekupeleni.	Okwelileyo na ?
25	Nguye Uyayana.	Kwasakubeni.
44	Ningabakuya uyilo.	Nguyana.
45	Ondivias.	Ningabakuyilo.
		Ongandnika.

47 Ungowakuye u-Tixo.	Ungoka-Tixo.
50 Oti sfine.	Oufumayo.
53 Uyuwena buzin.	Uzena barina
56 Antanasega.	Antanati.
57 Umborile nye na?	Umborile na?
58 Engakabangako.	Engakabiko.
Ndiko mins.	Ndingoboyo.
59 Wafihlaka.	Wafimela.
ix. 8 Oti ahlale anqibhe.	Othala enqiba.
24 Lova mntu.	Lowomutu.
3 Ngegama ngegama.	Nganagama.
9 Nchilelo.	Ukuthulu.
22 Bekububusika.	Bekusebusika.
13 Ranyikatalali.	Engakwaleli.
16 Rizingama kuso isibaya esi.	Ezingaziso zesibaya.
26 Ntingezakuso.	Ntingeziso.
28 Nangokuba.	Ngokuba.
xi 2 Ominawa.	Ominakwabo.
30 Ebegekungumanga.	Ebengchangani.
31 Abemkukate.	Abemkusa.
Ukuse allia.	Ukuya kulia.
34 Nimbekile pina?	Nimboko pina?
38 Iitire belilelo ngalawo.	Wayigwa ngeliye.
40 Andulelo kuwe na.	Anditongo na kuwe?
47 Siyenza utomina.	Siti nini?
19 Nihona na?	Niyabona na?
27 Ndzio riditi nina?	Ndiyakuti nina?
29 Saye sithwelo saliva, Ku- dumile.	Soye isithwelo seti, Liyaduduma
40 Bangabi babone.	Bangabi nakubona.
18 Ndashanyulayo.	Ndashanyulayo.
30 Kububusika.	Kusebusika.
20 Kulowambla.	Ngalowombla.
27 Kribats ekupaleni.	Kwasekupaleni.
21 Usalwe.	Uzaliwe.
32 Nitya.	Nitye.
2 Bekufuni wabutlana kona.	Ebelhala ebuta.
10 Laya liugu-M—	Belingu-M—
23 Uyangibetela.	Uyangibetela.
25 Andinjalo.	Andinguye.
35 Ndingum-Juda nye na.	Ndingum-Juda na?
40 Kube nguye u-B—	Kube ngu-B—
24 Masingazani yona.	Masingayimani.
30 Wankela.	Wawankela.
40 Njengokuba ama-Juda enesiko.	Njengesiko lama-Juda.
2 Bayibekile pina.	Bayibeko pina?
14 Wajela 'ara.	Wayiqela.
17 Ndingabanyulekanga.	Ndingabanyukeli.
18 Kwakaba kukuhlwa.	Kwakhulwa.
27 Ungabi ungakolwa, ube ukolwa.	Ungandabuzi, kolwa, or mas'
7 Yio Inkosi.	Yi-Nkosi.
9 Babona umhlo umi koca,	They saw a fire standing near the end of the river.
nenlani ilele peru kwawo.	
14 Eli selilizesha.	Eli lizeshu.

## APPENDIX D.

Ukufunda ndiqale kokugqala ubuciko lwase-Mkangaso obefungakalungi kunye. Ndayiya ndafunda kolweshini ubuciko lwase-Mkangaso lwafuna ukulunga kwamaso olo.

Ndayiya ndafunda olweshini ubuciko lwase-Mkangaso obeliye kubuciko lwase-Mkangaso—lwati olo lw-funa ukulunga ngakumbi ku, noko kungawebekile ukujikeka kwenteto ngokutazela ukulandela izipumiso za-Mkangaso, kuvakala ekubeni wakulandela ukuba ibuciko lwase-Mkangaso—ahlele amawazi ngapuni njengokutela kwetu, ndandingazondisi ndabala 'kuleta kwenzwadi kuyakubona ukutela kwabantu. Ndaye ke ndingamtu osimile atanda kakulu ukufunda.

Kakulu kolu lwesine ubuciko lwandigqibele ukudixaka kunye; ndova nabo bonke abaleshi bosi nabo ibuciko—ukutela ikusondile kunye, asi zonke izipumiso zokutela zama into ende kucane; bendisiba ndidibekwa; kungokutela andiayipaki kuzo zonke izisebo zam, kungokwasi ndipata kwi esi zilandela zazi zintaba, nakuba nazo zingalungiseko ukuba sekutewa aganteto isimile sayo.

## (TRANSLATION.)

When I began to read, I commenced with the First Edition printed at Mount Coke, which was not at all right.

Then I read the second Edition of Mount Coke, and that seemed a little better. Then I read the Third Edition of Mount Coke, which was printed in England, and that was better still, though there was not wanting round about language owing to carelessness in following the English idiom. It appeared plainly, when you read, that it was printed by an Englishman—the words did not sound like our language; and as I did not yet understand, I thought that the language of a book was different from that spoken by people. Now I was a man very fond of learning.

But this Fourth Edition is altogether unsatisfactory to me, and I bear all readers say too that they are not satisfied with it. It has twisted the language, and all the sentences are lengthened out exceedingly. I thought that I was alone (in that opinion.) Now I do not use it at all in my reading. I would rather use those that preceded these new ones, although they are not good, if the language is to be spoken properly.

## From the Rev. ALBERT MAGES, St. John's.

St. John's, Aug. 30th, 1868.

To the Rev. J. Laise, Burnhill,

Sir,—In reply to yours of July 6th, I beg to inform you of my concurrence in the resolution passed at the Conference of Missionaries at Lovedale, in January last. At the same time, I must express my appreciation of the liberality of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in issuing the last version of the Kafir Bible, and also of the labour and diligence bestowed upon its translation by the Rev. W. Appleyard.

My knowledge of the language is not of a character to enable me to discover the extent of the deficiencies in the new translation. The conclusion at which I have arrived is based upon the testimony of the natives around me, who agree in saying, that it is a worse production than the translation previously in use.

Your letter did not reach me as soon as it might have done. When it arrived, I was very unwell. I have been so more or less ever since, so that I have not been able to give that attention to the question which I should gladly have done, and therefore I am not prepared to give any illustrations in proof of what I say.

The enclosed paper is from a native, whose opinion I asked on the subject; from which you will see that he considers the old translation preferable to the new, though conscious of defects in the former.\*

I must add, that in consequence of the general opinion of the people, we have been led to fall back upon the old version, which we now use in our services.

I am sorry that I shall not be able to attend the meeting at King William's Town, as I shall be absent from home in another direction.

I am, yours very truly,—ALBERT MAGES.

From the Rev. A. J. NEWTON, *Queenstown*.

QUEENSTOWN, 26th July, 1866.

REV. JAMES LAING, Secy.

Dear Sir—In reply to the circular I received from you last week I beg to state, that the new edition of the "Bible" in Kafir is, in the opinion of all I have spoken to on the subject, a very unsatisfactory one indeed. For my own part, I think a new one is required at once, as the present is full of words not understood by the natives—at least up here—while many of the sentences are badly put together. I have not heard a single individual speak in favour of it—and I am continually referred to by natives for the meanings of words and sentences they cannot understand. I am sure when I give my opinion as to the necessity of a new translation, I am giving that of the Church Missionaries generally.

Believe me, yours very truly—A. J. NEWTON.

From the Rev. H. T. WATERS, *St. Mark's*.

ST. MARK'S, July 27th 1866.

To the Rev. JAMES LAING, Secy. to Translation Committee.

Rev. and dear Sir—Your printed circular of the 6th July came to hand a few days ago, and has had my serious attention.

Before making any remarks on the late translation by Mr. Appleyard and others, I wish it to be distinctly understood, that the labours of those employed upon that translation are looked upon by me, with the deepest respect and thankfulness, and I trust that whatever remarks are made by myself and others, will be taken in the spirit which ought to animate all, in having a correct translation of the Holy Scriptures.

In the first place, I think the translation now referred to, reads heavily, and is far from being idiomatic throughout. This impression is confirmed by the all but unanimous consent of a body of fourteen native teachers, which met here on the 28th inst. Twelve of whom decidedly approved of the older translation—two thought that the newer translation of the New Testament, so far as the Gospels were concerned, was better. Trifling grammatical errors and misprints are numerous—but there are also serious ones, such as Isaiah li. 1.

The unanimous consent of all those who know the Kafir language well, so far as I have enquired—is that a much better translation may be made—and I would much rather trust to such able Kafir scholars, as may now be had, than to any one who has yet translated the Scriptures.

Trusting that the results of your conference will have the Divine blessing, and regretting my inability to attend, unless some change in my duties can be made, when I shall certainly endeavour to be present.

I remain yours very truly—H. T. WATERS.

\* This paper is given afterwards.

From the Rev. T. W. GREEN, *St. John's*.

ST. JOHN'S MISSION, 24th Augt. 1866.

REV. J. LAING, dear Sir—In a conversation with Mr. Gremstock and Mr. Magge, on the late translation of the Scriptures by Mr. Appleyard, I mentioned, that one day finding an idiom in the old translation which I thought not quite correct, I enquired of a native servant-woman at Mr. C. Brownlee's, and was told by her that it was not correct, and that there were many such errors; I then asked her what she thought of the new translation; she declared it to be worse than any of the former translations. Two days ago, I got the new Kafir Prayer-book of the Church of England, and shewed it to her; she seemed quite pleased with it; said it was very good; "Yincwadi etelo ugokutylilekileyo" were her own words.

I have heard the natives, generally, express their opinion of the badness of the last translation of the Scriptures.

I remain, yours very sincerely,—T. W. GREEN.

## THE LONDON SOCIETY MISSIONARIES.

From the Rev. RICHARD BIRT, *Peckton*.

PECKTON, August 28th, 1866.

REV. J. LAING, Secy.

My dear Brother—In reference to your circular, requesting my remarks upon, and opinion of, the translation of the Scriptures into the Kafir language, by Rev. J. Appleyard, and lately printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society—

I beg to say, that I think very great praise is due to Mr. Appleyard for what he has done. I do sincerely honour the man who has spent the time and the energy he has, in patient study and close application, in order to translate the sacred Scriptures. I quite believe, too, that there is no European-born Missionary who could produce, on the whole, so good a translation into the Kafir tongue as that which Mr. Appleyard has done—I may, possibly, be wrong in this, but it is my strong conviction.

While, however, I feel thus towards Mr. Appleyard, and think thus of what he has accomplished—I must confess, in all honesty, that it is very far from satisfactory.

In the choice of words, I consider Mr. Appleyard is oftentimes very unhappy—but of that I will say nothing—I will leave the verbal criticisms to those Brethren who use the language almost as their vernacular tongue. What I feel in reading it is, that it is not the true idiom of the Kafir language. I cannot briefly express my opinion of it, in few words, better, than to say—I consider it a clumsy, and oftentimes harsh translation;—very unlike the native idiom.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Appleyard did not associate himself with some of those Missionaries who were born in this country, and educated in Scotland. Their united labours might have secured a translation in which the true native idiom would obtain.

I think it too, a matter of regret and surprise, that the British and Foreign Bible Society should have ignored the suggestions furnished by the Cape Town Auxiliary, and entered upon so large an expenditure without despatching for the assistance of those Missionaries above referred to—in order to insure the translation as perfect as possible.

It seems very desirable that another translation be undertaken forthwith. I am, dear Brother, yours truly—RICHARD BIRT.



From the Rev. THOS. BROCKWAY, Peelson.

PELSON July 26th, 1886.

My dear Mr LAING,

In reference to the Bible Translation, I can only say that I think it a heavy and unidiomatic translation; or as an intelligent Kafir young man remarked to me—it is English language rendered into Kafir words, but lacking the genius and idiom of the Kafir tongue.

Illustration from me is, needless, unnecessary, yet will you allow me to refer you to Isaiah ix. 5. It is both an incorrect and unidiomatic translation.

But better qualified men than I will furnish illustrations *ad libitum*.

Believe me, dear brother, yours very truly—THOS. BROCKWAY.

## THE BERLIN SOCIETY MISSIONARIES.

From the Rev. W. REIN, Wartburg.

WARTBURG, 12th August, 1886.

REV. JAMES LAING, Hon. Secy.

My dear Sir—My opinion on the latest translation of the Scriptures into the Kafir language, frankly and conscientiously given, is that, although Mr. Appleyard deserves our thanks for the very great amount of work performed, single-handed, and for his obvious striving to improve the former version, his translation is far from being satisfactory. Being myself a foreigner I obtain from expressing my opinion as to whether the translation is rendered in the true idiom of the Kafir language, leaving it to those brethren who, knowing the language from their infancy, are better able to judge. But there are very many grammatical faults in the present version, of which I beg to give a few examples—

In 1 John iv. 20, the time-phrase "xeshikweni" is falsely used. Xeshikweni means "when" referring to time, while the Original has "xas," if the conditional, which the Kafir expresses by "ukuba" with the following indicative mood.

In 1 John iv. 19, the "ukuba," being the abbreviated "ngokuba," has a false construction, namely, the sortist, "wasitanda," it ought to be the Imperfect tense: "ebesitanda." The same is to be said against the false "yehlayo," after the "ngokuba," instead of "hishila" in Mat. xxviii. 2; and against the wrong "wasitandayo," instead of "ebsitanda," after the "ngokuba" in Ephes. v. 2.

In Philip. i. 3, there is a wrong use of the preposition "pezu," which has either the locative meaning *above* or is used in expressing the Comparative. Mr Appleyard's translation: "I thank God above your remembering me," would be understood by a Kafir either thus—I, being (locally) above your remembering me, thank God—which is nonsense; or thus, I thank God more than your remembering me does thank him.—which is also nonsense. Let me remark at this instance, that the above explanation, of the "pezu" has been given to me by an intelligent Christian native.

In Ephes. v. 5, the genitive of the proper noun is rendered falsely; thus —"ebukunani beke u-Kristu," instead of "buka-Kristu."

In Luke xvi. 23, the Substantive verb *ebaba*, to be, is rendered falsely; thus—"niba ebohlungwini," instead of "ebohlungwini," it being the Principle of the Present tense, "he being in pain," the be is not used.

In Ephes. iii. 19,—"HYPERALLEN" is translated by "ukunabela" which does not mean, to surpass, or to excel.

As to views of natives on the present translation, I am rather slow in eliciting them, being afraid, that by their judging the letter of the Bible,

they may be led also to doubting the truths of the Bible. The above given opinion of a native has been given to me *assessd for*. I may only say, that several numbers of my congregation who love their Bible, object much to the very great accumulation of the pronouns in many passages, as for instance in Gal. vi. 7, which runs thus: "ngokuba oko asukuba ebuhlwaye ukuza, kome oks tyakwena hampelo," and where the last "ku" is quite sufficient; and in 1 John iii. 14, kuba sitanda esosa abazwana," where the "bosa" is superfluous. Very many instances of this kind could be given, but from want of time I must conclude my remarks here.

While, therefore, I am of opinion, that a more correct translation of the Scriptures into the Kafir language is urgently needed, I must, in justice to Mr Appleyard, say, that he has given us in his translation as good an Orthography of the Kafir, as there possibly could be. It is my opinion and that of many fellow-labourers, that in a future version of the Kafir Bible no essential deviation from the present Orthography should be made.

I remain, dear Sir, yours truly—W. REIN.

From the Rev. J. H. DÖHNKE, Wartburg, Natal.

WARTBURG, NATAL, 9th Aug. 1886.

THE REV. JAMES LAING, Secretary.

My dear Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your circular regarding the arrangements to be made for securing a New Version of the Scriptures into the Kafir language.

As the object your Committee has in view is of great importance, and my circumstances will not allow me to be present at the Meeting appointed, I will try to comply with your request by writing, as far as it is in my power. I can give, in a few words, my opinion, by stating that I concur with the resolution "that the Translation, &c. cannot be accepted as satisfactory." But as for illustrative examples to prove the assertion, I have at present no time for collecting them from the Translation, and may be permitted to refer to those I sent to the Auxiliary Bible Society of Capetown in 1886. The experience I have made during the last ten years have fully confirmed me in the views I then stated. At that occasion I was the only one who made critical remarks; and I am now surprised to find that Mr Appleyard who then dealt very severely with those remarks, has changed his mind, in the present Edition, much in my favour.

It must be admitted, with Mr Appleyard, that—in passing an opinion on a Translation—it is not sufficient to express simply a dissent or disapproval. Such dictum cannot claim to be heard, where reasons must be put against reasons, evidence against evidence. It is also true that reasons and proofs taken from kindred tribes as Basuto's and Zulu's cannot be decisive, except when it can be shown that the respective Grammatical rules or idioms of the language are perfectly the same. Yet, with all due respect to Mr Appleyard, and after having only occasionally examined and compared the new Edition, I must confess, that there are too many examples met with which are objectionable; and it is not long since that I wrote to one of my German Brethren, saying: "How is it possible that you can be content with this new Edition?"

One great point, which I once recommended to the Auxiliary Bible Society, for obtaining uniformity of a Translation, has been gained, for that Translation appears as the work of one translator. This is an essential point. We have just now a proof in Natal—Our American Mission Brethren published, a year ago, a Zulu New Testament, the translation of which being the work of many individuals; and this is one reason why it is not much liked. But as for the isi-Xosa—we all more or less know, that the people are very talkative, and many of them are great talkers indeed. This qualification taken together with others of their natural propensities, as

pride, boasting, &c., shows how apt they are to swell their speech, often to a great deal of bombast, or exaggeration. And this has too often given reasons for Missionaries, when getting some hold on the language, to take that for the very best language, and hence it was eagerly pulled into the translations. I am sorry to observe that the uniformity has greatly to suffer of this mistake.

Strictly speaking, there is no profane language. But I have for years sat at the feet of some old, quiet un-Xosa, who had a very clear head; he spoke a simple, pure language, and the same, I found by comparison and reference, in the mouth of many others of the principal men. Here, in Natal, on the other hand, we have the greatest difficulty to make the natives speak; for they, being from natural and political causes full of suspicion toward each other, are exceedingly reserved, and their general mode of speech is very laconic, and difficult for apprehension; yea, among several tribes it is very abrupt and abbreviated. There are specimens of the last sort in print, which it is a laborious task correctly to read, on account of the violent contractions and frequent scootrophisms. Again, there are several tribes that flatten and compress the syllable and dental sounds to such a degree, that their dialects necessarily must be excluded from the Translation of the Bible.

Speaking now of the internal value or character of this Translation, it would appear that the Translator was yet wanting the power, so necessary for translating, of accurately judging and distinguishing between *literal* and *verbal* senses. Adhering, as a matter of course, always to the literal sense of the Original, and meanwhile losing sight of the idiom of the native language, which does not express itself in that literal sense, but gives the verbal meaning perfectly, often strikingly, by an idiomatic term,—this impression makes the Translation. In many many instances you read the Kafir quite after the Greek text; in others you meet objectionable paraphrases, in which the original could have been better rendered by some idiomatic term. In short, with reference to literal, verbal, idiomatic, and paraphrastic distinctions and application much remains to be corrected and settled. The only cause that accounts for this, if I am not mistaken, is,—that sufficient time and thorough study have some how been failing. Taking humbly leave of referring to myself, it will be allowed that I stand among the oldest translators, and am now, since the last five years, engaged in constant translating. Yet, it may take many a one by surprise when I state, that I just now have finished the Epistle to the Romans, on which I have bestowed full nine months of most arduous labour and study! My purpose for saying this, is to show that we cannot be too careful in this great matter: it is also true that such a conflict of different dialects, as in Natal, is not existing among the ama-Xosa tribe.

As I have just mentioned, being myself specially appointed for Translating the Bible into Zulu, and having to perform many other duties that prevent me from taking a particular acting part in your great and good cause; notwithstanding I take a great interest in it, and shall endeavour at all times to give my aid, if I can give any. I would therefore suggest, if those who shall be appointed for the New Version will think it worth the while to put occasionally questions, or topics of consultation before me, I promise to attend to them to the best of my ability.

Wishing you a harmonious Meeting and every possible success, and sending, most heartily, greetings to all united.

I beg to remain dear Sir, your fellow labourer—J. H. DÜRR.

From the Rev. A. KROPP, Bethel.

BETHEL, Sept. 12th, 1866.

Rev. J. LAING, Burnahill,

My dear Sir—As I have been prevented from attending your meeting in King William's Town, and stating my opinion on the present translation of the Kafir Bible, I send you these lines to express my conviction, that the present translation (especially in the Epistles of the New Testament,) is capable of great improvement, and that many of my natives prefer the old translation to the new, as being more easy to be read and understood.

It would be presumptuous of me, to give a decided opinion on the necessity of a new translation, which can only be decided by those, who have acquired the idiom of the Kafir language from their childhood. From the errors pointed out by these brethren, I fear, that nothing short of a new translation will satisfy, though, for my part, I would, if possible, recommend a thorough revision, and for the part of many natives, who might be offended by two translations, and who might easily concur them into two kinds, of the word of God. The two translations in China, have done great injury. But as a new translation is a work of vast magnitude, and will absorb a long time, I hope that with its appearance, the supply of the present translation will be exhausted, and in this way the above-mentioned stumbling block removed.

Could the Committee act on the advice, contained in the last query of the National Society of Scotland, a great deal of harm would be avoided, and a great deal of good would accrue. If the British and Foreign Bible Society could be prevailed upon to undertake the new work, though I am bound to state, as I was told by Mr. A. that the Parent Society will not assist in the translation, which is not a translation of the accepted English version, which restriction will be very unpalatable to those that know the defects of this version, and that desire to see the treasures of sacred critical knowledge of the original languages, applied to the translations of the Scriptures.

In reference to the Orthography, I beg leave to recommend the system of Lepsius, or that followed up in the translation of Mr. Appleyard. Believe me, yours faithfully,—A. KROPP.

## THE MORAVIAN MISSIONARIES.

From the Rev. J. H. HARTMANN, Goshen.

GOSHEN, 20th June, 1866.

Rev. J. A. CHALLERS, Convener of Conference of Missionaries.

Dear Sir,—I duly received your invitation, to attend a meeting of the Committee, appointed by the last Conference of Missionaries, for a new translation of the Bible into Kafir, to be held (D.V.) at King William's Town, on the 5th of July.

As I take a lively interest in the matter, it is with much regret I find myself prevented from being present at this meeting personally, not being able to leave home just now.

However, I would avail myself of this opportunity to offer a few remarks, relating to the subject before the Committee.

At our last Conference held in Lovedale, it has already been pointed out, whilst giving all credit to the pains and labour bestowed on the present new Translation by the Rev. Mr. Appleyard—that there are many words and passages in it which want a correction, the sooner the better; or rather, that an entirely new translation is required.

But as the preparation of a new Translation, and the printing of it, must needs be a work of time, and cannot speedily be accomplished, and yet it is very desirable, especially for brethren, who begin to learn the language, to have a means, to correct the most obvious errors,—I beg to suggest the following for the consideration of the meeting, viz:—

That those brethren who are competent to the work, be requested to go through the whole of the present Translation, each taking several Books of the Bible, and note down the words and passages mostly requiring to be altered, and then have the whole printed for sale, so as to enable us who are only beginners in the language, to correct and alter, in the meanwhile, what necessarily *must* be corrected, until, eventually, we get a new and more correct translation.

To this end I most willingly would subscribe also my share for defraying the expenses of printing, should they not be covered by the sale of the corrections referred to.

Believe me, yours truly in the Lord,—J. H. HARTMAN.

From the Rev. H. MEYER, *Engoristi*.

Engoristi, Sept. 8th, 1866.

Dear Brother,—I thankfully received your Circular concerning Mr Appleby's Translation of the Bible into the Kafir language.

In answer, I have to state, that though I am not disposed myself to express a judgment on it, leaving that to more competent men, I yet wish to make some remarks on it.

I have a small Stock of Bibles and New Testaments of the newest Edition for sale, which, since I sold the first copies, the natives will not take. Many have gone away with the money in their hands, when they saw that the copies I had were those with black covers (the last Edition). They wish for the brown ones (the former Edition, bound in brown leather), which they say they can understand better.

In my Bible Evening Meetings, four times a week—two in the Old Testament, and two in the new—I find myself often obstructed by passages in the last Edition, incomprehensible to me in construction and rendering of the words.—I having prepared myself in the Bible of my own language, the German. Not trusting my own opinion, I have asked intelligent natives, who have told me: 'asivwa amawwi alencwadi; siyeva axa axawa ngwe—we do not understand the words as they are written in that book; but we understand when you have told us what it ought to say.'

I may mention here that a number of words are given, in some places, quite in the wrong sense: as, "courage" by ubagaga, which means carelessness, instead of isibindi—"Spy" by panda; *sewawé* instead of hlole, which is rightly given in some places.

There is another point of not a little weight, which, in its bearing on the whole Kafir mission, renders a new Translation necessary. The majority of missionaries in Kafirland are Europeans, who, in acquiring the Kafir language, are guided by the Kafir Grammar, and the Kafir Bible. While the former gives him valuable assistance, and the Key to the language, the latter should furnish him with a language pure enough to be understood by every Kafir. But as young Missionaries, anxious to preach the Gospel soon in the language of the people, have to render the passages they refer to in the existing version of the Kafir Bible, and often adopt a construction as given in it, those who confine themselves in their study more to the book, are not understood, though speaking in Kafir words. It is therefore very desirable that a new Edition should be prepared by men who, having been born among the natives, are able to give the idiom.

Most earnestly hoping for a speedy realization of that wish.

I remain, &c.—H. MEYER.

From the Rev. THEODOR REICHEL, *Shiloh*.

Dear Sir,—Allow me to send you some lines about the Translation of the Kafir Bible.

As I am only two years in the country, I can not judge myself about the Wesleyan (Appleby's) Translation; but I hear from all competent judges, that this translation is not worth much, if any thing; and I myself see that Appleby's Kafir differs a great deal from that in the books published at Lovedale.

Some of the Shiloh inhabitants have also told me that they don't buy the new Bible on account of the bad Kafir.

I wish, therefore, to communicate to you my wish concerning the Bible-Translation, namely,—that those missionaries who know the Kafir language thoroughly, may be requested to translate, as soon as possible, the New Testament (with the Psalms perhaps); and get it printed and published, with the assistance of the British Bible Society, or of the Scotch Bible Society, or of other Christian Friends.

It is evidently of the greatest importance that we have the *New Testament*, at least, in a translation that can be understood by the natives, that is written in their idiom, and is free from the numerous mistakes and blunders of the present translation.

I suppose my wishes will coincide with that of many others, and might, perhaps, therefore come into consideration in your conference at King William's Town. May this conference be blessed by the Lord.

Yours truly,—THEODOR REICHEL.

## FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSIONARIES.

From the Rev. JAMES LAING, *Burnside*.

BURNHILL, 30th August, 1866.

As a Committee of Missionaries is at present collecting evidence regarding the character of the translation of the Bible into the Kafir language by the Rev. John Appleby, Wesleyan Missionary, I shall shortly give my opinion concerning the nature of this translation.

Making all due allowance for the immense labour which Mr Appleby has undergone in translating the whole Bible into the Kafir language, I nevertheless am decidedly of opinion that his translation cannot be accepted as satisfactory.

I adopt this view on two grounds.—1st. On the testimony of competent witnesses; 2nd. On some acquaintance with the Kafir language itself.

The evidence proving the defective and incorrect nature of the translation is overwhelming. The witnesses are either men of European extraction who have been familiar with the Kafir language from their infancy, or intelligent natives, who are competent to decide, when their language is correctly spoken and written, and when it is not.

Knowing the honesty of those men—in one sense all natives of the country—and their intelligence in regard to the subject to which they have directed their attention, I cannot but come to the conclusion that their testimony fully establishes the unsatisfactory character of the translation.

On the other hand, let it be observed that no person, at all qualified to speak intelligently on the subject, can be found, who approves of Mr Appleby's translation as a work written in pure and idiomatic Kafir.

2nd. In speaking of the second reason for the opinion that the translation in question is unsatisfactory, viz. my possession of some knowledge of the Kafir language, I readily admit that that knowledge is far from being pec-

fect, and that I would not take it upon me, in cases where idiom is concerned, to decide what should be used. At the same time, in reading the Kafir Bible by Mr Appleyard, I see on every page expressions which I think might be altered for the better, and which, on submitting them to those who are better Kafir scholars than myself, are almost always regarded as requiring correction. The translation, it seems to me, wants plainness and simplicity. Having this view, I frequently try to give, with the best native scholarship to be obtained, a plainer rendering of the text from which I am to preach. I give a few specimens of this:—Song of Solomon ii. 16, Mr Appleyard reads 'Isiandwa sam siacem, ndingowao mina.' The change made is, 'Umandwa wam, ungowam, ndingowake mina.' Umandwa expresses a personal union, better than isiandwa.

Exodus ii. 9, Mr Appleyard says, 'Sama lomtwana, undanyiselo yena, dadiya kunika unvuzo wako.' The change made is, 'Thakata lomtwana, undondilele, ndokutika unvuzo wako.'

Ps. lxxiv. 11, Mr Appleyard says, 'Ngokaba u-Yehova u-Tixo ellanga nekaka; u-Yehova yakupa ufefe nobungwala; akayi kubavimba 'ako lungileyo abo bahamba ngokulungileyo.'

The changes are, 'Ngokuba u-Yehova u-Tixo ullanga ellanka, u-Yehova yakupa ufefe nobungwala; nanto ilungileyo akayikubavimba abo bahamba ngokuyoniselileyo.'

Prov. xlii. 6, Mr Appleyard says, 'Luleka umtwana ngokufacene nendilele yako; woti kwa nokuyi amida, angapambiki kuzo.' The changes are, 'Luleka umtwana enchileleni afacide ukubamba ngayo; woti akubha ndela angapambiki kuzo.'

It is a curious circumstance, that the old translations, made by the European Missionaries when they were less acquainted with the Kafir language than they are at present, are preferred by the natives to the new translation, the character of which is now under consideration. This, I think, may be accounted for in this way: In the early years of the missions to the Kafir, the missionaries did not know enough of Kafir to enable them to translate into such Kafir as could be presented to the people, and they were obliged to enquire their interpreters to translate for them, the missionaries writing the translation thus furnished. Whatever may have been the defects of these early translations, one great point was gained by them—the language of the interpreters was the correct and idiomatic Kafir in such a style as the natives desiderate in regard to the Bible, or any book that is given to them in their own tongue.

People who learn a language like the Kafir, when they are grown up, are apt to speak and write in the order and idiom of their own vernacular. This is what may be seen daily in the manner in which the missionaries, who acquired the language when they were advanced to manhood, speak it to the people. The remark applies to writing as well as to speaking, and to Mr Appleyard as well as to the European missionaries. It would have been little, if anything, short of a miracle, if he had so overcome the disadvantages under which, in common with all adult missionaries, he has laboured, as to acquire the full idiomatic knowledge of so peculiar and difficult a language as the Kafir. Thus Mr Appleyard was in a great measure to fail in acquiring such complete knowledge as was to be expected, and it is not wonderful that he should have failed, where full success to one in his circumstances was impossible.

In what I have said, I am far from undervaluing Mr Appleyard's great labours as they appear in his translation of the Bible. Scarcely any missionary in this part of the country can be found, who, in circumstances like those in which Mr Appleyard acquired the Kafir language, could have produced a translation, even with all its faults, of equal merits to his. His labours will be of great use to other translators. In several passages from the Old Testament where he varied considerably from the English, I have always found on examination that he is borne out by the Hebrew. He has my

best thanks for his well-intended labours, and as I believe that this Kafir Bible is not fitted to take such a place in regard to the Kafir speaking population, as the English Bible has taken in the mixed and general literature of the English people, it is no small consolation that he has been honoured to present a contribution to the cause of Bible translation which will aid, and that in no small degree, future translators, to do for a large part of the African continent what Tyndale and others have done so well for the English speaking inhabitants of the British empire.

JAMES LAING.

From the Rev. JOHN BENNIE, *Middletown*.

MIDDLETOWN, 24th July, 1866.

REV. JAMES LAING.

The translator of the Version of the Bible in Kafir deserves great praise. His labour and perseverance are apparent, and are duly appreciated. In his laudable earnest desire to see the Kafir tribes in possession of the precious treasure as speedily as possible, he has translated in haste. He has however done what he could; and he shall have an ample reward. He has formed an excellent basis on which a more correct and idiomatic version may be made.

The esteemed Translator, it is presumed, has not, in his haste, consulted the Originals with sufficient care; hence passages not over-correctly given by the Translators of our commonly received English version are taken over as they are in English into his version. He has however consulted the work of the eminent Biblical scholar Dr Adam Clarke, as his translation of Isaiah, for instance, seems to indicate.

When I make use of his version, I seldom read a portion as it is printed. I transcribe, and sometimes I employ other terms. And I am unable in some respects to agree with his orthography.

JOHN BENNIE

The rest of Mr Bennie's paper refers exclusively to the orthography. Mr Bennie bore a chief part in the important and difficult work of giving the Kafir language a written form. And it will, it is believed, be generally and readily admitted, that the way in which this work was accomplished was highly creditable to its authors, and particularly to Mr Bennie. Some changes—not improvements, Mr Bennie thinks—have been introduced since; and the chief part of his paper is occupied with remonstrances, addressed to Mr Appleyard, in reference to some of these.

This part of the paper is omitted.

From the Rev. BRUCE ROSS, *Pirie*.

PIRIE, Sept. 4th, 1865.

REV. JAMES LAING,

Sir,—I beg leave to make the following observations, in answer to your circular about the Kafir Translation of the Scriptures issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1864.

In examining this version, the ideas strongly and vividly presented to my mind throughout, has been that of a builder who has undertaken the erection of a large edifice. He brings to his work a considerable amount of knowledge about his trade, and a large supply of materials collected from various sources. He proceeds carefully and vigorously to work; and raises the structure with a strict regard to certain rules definitely laid down in his own mind, and with a very liberal use of the materials at his disposal. But, at the same time, his rules are not sound; and his supply of materials, large though it be, does not embrace all the articles required, and contains



not a few that might well have been left out. Because of his close adherence to unsound rules, the building everywhere presents, more or less, marks of unskilful workmanship; and because of the superabundant use of indifferent materials, and the want of the requisite articles in many places, it has generally a clumsy appearance, while wanting in strength. In short, the builder, with all his attainments, is really not master of his trade; and his work must be condemned. Or, in plain language, the translation, though evidently the result of great care and labour, is a sad failure.

It is with no little pain I have perused the above sentence. Having for years seriously felt the want of a good Caffre version, and seen the evils resulting from the use of a very unsatisfactory one among the natives; and being moreover a member of an auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and a friend of the translator, I fondly hoped that this version would on the whole be an improvement upon the last one. It is true indeed that I never could venture to expect that it would prove quite satisfactory. When I heard that it was to be executed by a single individual, in a land where he could have no personal intercourse with any one speaking Caffre as his mother-tongue, and when I remembered that Mr. Appleyard, with all his knowledge of the language, had, in the former translation, given indications of his not having thoroughly mastered it, I concluded that the work could not be properly accomplished. But I certainly was not prepared for any thing like the production before me. In comparing the present translation with the *first* version of the New Testament, it becomes very evident that the translator has upon the whole embodied the meaning of the Sacred Writer more *factly* than was done in that *first* version; but then it is as manifest that he has gone and reduced to a system, pervading the whole book, many errors which one supposed had originated in such causes as inadvertency in that first one, thus rendering this *last* one very much inferior in point of style and grammar.

But looking at the production itself without any reference to other translations, let me briefly specify some of what I deem its most serious defects, with one or two illustrative examples.

1st. The version generally is cumbersome in style. By this I do not wish to convey the idea merely that more words are used than are actually required. I mean moreover that syllables and words are heaped upon one another in a manner or to a degree that darkens, or weakens, or changes the sense of the passage. Thus in Rom. i. 13, the insertion of the word "*sê*" between "*ukuba*" and "*ningazi*," makes the writer say, "I do not like that you were ignorant;" instead of "I would not have you ignorant." In vr. 25, "*wabayekela*," instead of "*wabayekela*," makes him say, "also-kened them," instead of "gave them over." In chap. ii. 17, "*uyayama peers komteto*," instead of "*wayame umteto*," makes him say what is quite unintelligible. In vr. 19, "*uyabekela ukuba*" instead of "*uyabekela ukuba*," renders the language ungrammatical, and consequently obscure. In chap. iii. 4, "*ukuze sê uyagwetyelwa*," instead of "*ukuze uyagwetyelwe*," makes the writer say "that thou mayest be in the course of being justified," instead of "that thou mightest be justified."

2nd. The version abounds in contractions at variance with the genius of the language. Words are coined and sentences composed in a manner in which no Caffre would ever dream of doing. For instance, the word Mr. Appleyard uses for "mule" or "mules" throughout the book, he has formed by taking the word "*iqwaba*," a "zebra," and adding the termination "*ra*," which means "ish," so that the word formed must mean "zebraish," and must, from its formation, be an adjective, whereas he uses it as a noun. There was no necessity whatever for having recourse to such an expedient to obtain a word to represent the idea of a mule, for mules have been for years in the country and have received a name from the natives. Then again, the word he has coined to signify an ass, namely "*iqwabahe*," is formed by adding another termination meaning "ish" also to the same word "*iqwaba*," and is also properly an adjective; thus we have through-

out the book "*iqwabahe*" or a zebraish for an ass, "*iqwabahe*" or young zebraish for a young ass, and "*iqwabaheishi*" or zebraish for a she ass. There was no need for all this, for the natives have "*Calfrutins*" the Dutch word for ass. The same may be said of the word "*jahomrunnyama*," which he has formed to signify "crimson." It is composed of two adjectives the one meaning "red" and the other "black," with the prefix "*ja*," put before them to convert them into a noun. This is not the way in which words signifying colours are formed. Moreover there was no need of coining a word at all, for there is one in the language representing exactly the idea Mr. Appleyard wished to convey. The termination "*ela*," in verbs is very frequently used where it should not. Thus the term "*ascend*," or go up, which is of very frequent occurrence in Scripture, is almost invariably rendered by one verb having the termination "*ela*" added to it, whereas it should have been translated by using two verbs, as "*wenyuka waysa o-Yerusalem*," he went up to Jerusalem. The same holds true of "*wakabela*" and many other verbs. I find it impossible to analyze sentences of the same nature. I will merely refer to one or two; out of many, which I fear must appear utterly dark to those who possess only this version. See 2 Cor. i. 15-20; ii. 5-9; iii. 4-6; vi. 4-10; 2 Cor. ii. 17. The first clause of this last passage, if it means anything, means the very opposite of what the apostle does.

3rd. This version possesses not a few mal-translations that render the passages in which they occur coarse, grotesque, or ridiculous. Thus in Job xviii. 14, the "King of terrors" is made the "King of bugbears." I believe the word "bugbear" is used throughout for the word "terrors." In Mat. xiv. 4, Peter, on the mount of transfiguration, is made to say, "let us make here three garden-lobes," instead of "three tabernacles." In Rom. xii. 16, instead of "be not wise in your own conceits," it is said "do not glory over yourselves." The same error occurs in almost all the passages in which the term boasting or glorying occurs. In 1 Pet. iv. 1, instead of "arm yourselves," we have "put yourselves on as armour." Then for "violence" we have constantly the word "*usethwengula*," the ordinary meaning of which is to "ravish" or "force a woman." I don't say it is restricted to the latter signification by the natives; but I think its use might have been avoided with advantage, where the word violence is used in its generic or figurative and not in its specific or literal signification.

4th. Lastly, this version is ungrammatical throughout. To advance evidence in support of this assertion would carry out this letter to an untold length, whereas it is long enough already. Suffice it to say, that it is too plain Mr. Appleyard does not understand the Caffre Article, and the Caffre Pronoun, especially the Relative, while he has not mastered the verb. I may state here, that having, soon after the receipt of a copy of this version, commenced to correct especially the grammatical errors in it, in books I was reading through either in the family or in the pulpit, I found the task so laborious, from the number of corrections requiring to be made, that I soon gave it up. For instance in Genesis xx. which consists only of 18 verses, I find 50 marks of corrections, chiefly grammatical. In Isaiah xxxvi. consisting of 22 verses, there are 51.

With regard to the opinions of intelligent natives, I may state that out of eleven men only one approved of this translation, and not one preferred it to the old. One of them, a Fingo, said thus:—"It appeared to him that it was partly Caffre and partly Fingo. It should have been altogether Caffre. At any rate, it should have been the one thing or the other. The thing had two heads, and how could it live." Another, a Caffre, said that—"Some of it was good and some not; some words were made too long and others too much contracted. It was a mixture of corn and pumpkin." A third said—"It is very dark, the language has gone astray." A fourth said that—"The Word of God should not be darkened. Let any darkness that is in that which is inherent in it. This translation is not only dark, but moreover states things in an indirect, round-about-way."

Yours truly—BRYCE BOSS.

LOVEDALE, 3rd Sept. 1896.

Rev. J. LANGE,

Sir.—In reply to your Circular of the 6th July, requesting me to give my views on the Translation of the Scriptures into the Kafir language, I have completed by the aid of the British and Foreign Bible Society. I will only add to what I said in the Conference of Missionaries held at Lovedale in January last, to show that this Translation cannot be accepted as satisfactory, and that a new version is required, that, in the translation which it gives of particular words, it is very often inconsistent with itself, and self-contradictory—not to speak of its being inaccurate. To prove this statement, I shall adduce only four or five out of many examples that might be produced.

I. Take the verb "try" or "to try." It is translated by parts of these verbs—Ukulinga, Ukucokisa, and Ukhambisa. Lam. iii. 40. "Let us search and try our ways."—Masipando imikwa yetu siyiboneni. Masipando and siyiboneni are Kafir words, but they are not the Kafir of "search and try" as used in this verse. Psalm xxvi. 2. "Examine me, O Lord, and prove me: try my reins and my heart."—Ndinga, Xhosa! Undivanywe; kokisa izinto zami nenkiziyo yami. Psalm lxxvi. 10. "For thou O God hast proved us, thou hast tried us as silver is tried."—Ngokuba wena, Tixo! usilingile; usilingile njengokuba kukokiswa isilivere. Jer. vi. 27. "I have set thee for a tower and a fortress among my people that thou mayest know and try their way."—Nditumisele ubo aqumkisi pakati kwabantu bami, anqaba, ukuzo vuyisi vyibongo ibhileyo yabo. And I Peter iv. 12. "Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you as though some strange thing happened unto you."—Bafandwa! zingakwazi nina ukutshala chakoyo pakati kwenu kube kukubingwa kwenu, njengokwazi nina emngalisoyo binibhilela. In these verses, the words—examine—prove—and try—are all translated by some part of the verb ukulinga—while the verb "try" in these same verses is also translated by some part of the words kokisa and bonca; and the word Tower by Umkingi—that is in English "a tempter." And as to the translation of the verse in Peter—to me it is words without meaning. No doubt there is an attempt to follow the Greek in this passage, but certainly the Greek has a meaning, clear and pointed. What is the Greek or English of these three words—ningatshala nina ukutshala?

II. Take the word "watch": it is translated by some part of the words, ukulinda, ukulindela, ukugobuka, ukupapasa, ukalala, and ukugolelela. Such as in 1 Thes. v. 6. "Masiti silinde nimbuko"—but let us watch and be sober. Psalm cxxx. 6. "Unepumlo wami ulindela lokozi, ngapau kwabandeli bokusa, belindela ukusa"—my soul waiteth for the Lord, more than they that watch for the morning, watching for the morning. 1 Peter iv. 7. "Yenzani ngoko ngokuthelelela, nimbuko ngesantlantsi"—be ye therefore sober and watch unto prayer. Heb. xlii. 17. "Bavuni abakolali benu, ubalulumele: ngokuba bonu bepupama pesu kwempumlo yenu"—Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves, for they watch for your souls. Jer. v. 6. "Ingwe yolelela ngakuzo ixixeko zabo"—a leopard shall watch over their cities. And Habakkuk ii. 1. "Ndiyikuma pesu kwendawo yenu yokulinda, ndizimise pesu kwengaba, ndandiyi kugolelela ndize ndibone ukuba uya kuteta" into nina kuni—"I will stand upon my watch, and set me upon the tower, and will watch to see what he will say unto me. One of these six words does well for 'watch'—ukulinda; a second is possible—ukulindela; a third depends upon the connection, ukulalela. Two are ridiculous—ukugobuka and ukupapasa; and the last one, ukugolelela, is not Kafir—no such word in Kafir. Mark the inconsistency of translation in 1 Thes. v. 6, and in 1 Peter iv. 7. In one of these verses 'watch' is translated thus—silinde; and in the other by nimbuko—and the word sober in the one verse by siqobuka, when in the

other it is translated ukuthelelela. I have given part of the 17th verse of the xlii. Chapter of Heb.—had I given the whole of it, you would at least find five errors in it. But take the clause, for they watch for your souls.—ngokuba bonu bepupama pesu kwempumlo yenu. The simple English of this is—because they fly over or above your souls, or, because they are hovering over your souls.

III. Take the word "digged." It is translated by these four words, or rather by some part of these words,—Ukumba, ukudisa, ukumbela, and ukubumbela. The first is right. The second could pass, as in Rom. xi. 3, for digged down, but a better could be used. The third is contradictory, such as in Isa. li. 1. "Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye are digged."—Kangalanti elilweleni apo nimbalelele kama, masisingqini somxuma apo nimbalele kama. The English of it is this—the hole of the pit into which ye were or are buried." Paul lvi. 6. "They have digged a pit before me"—bumbele isihogo obusweni bam. Now the English of this is, they have buried a hell before my face. Mat. xxi. 33. And digged a wine-press in it—vambela kuso isandizelo sevevine. English of this is, He buried into it a wine-press. The fourth could be taken in two or three senses, such as in Jer. xviii. 20. For they have digged a pit for my soul—ukho bumbalele ubomi bam isihogo. The simple English of this is, Yet they have moulded a hell for my soul, or, yet they have buried my soul a hell.

IV. For the word "search," seven words are used in this Translation—Let, Zeph. i. 12. "That I will search Jerusalem with candles."—Ndiya kupanda i-Jerusalem ngokulandelela. I do not know what meaning a Kafir would give to the words, ndiya kupanda ngokulandelela. 2. "Go, search the land"—Hambani nintshaba, ukupengulula. Judg. xviii. 2. "When ye shall search for me with all your power, I will be there."—Ndiya kupanda i-Jerusalem ngokulandelela. This is not Kafir.

3. "When ye shall search for me with all your power, I will be there."—Ndiya kupanda i-Jerusalem ngokulandelela. This is not Kafir.

4. "When ye shall search for me with all your power, I will be there."—Ndiya kupanda i-Jerusalem ngokulandelela. This is not Kafir.

5. "When ye shall search for me with all your power, I will be there."—Ndiya kupanda i-Jerusalem ngokulandelela. This is not Kafir.

6. "When ye shall search for me with all your power, I will be there."—Ndiya kupanda i-Jerusalem ngokulandelela. This is not Kafir.

7. "When ye shall search for me with all your power, I will be there."—Ndiya kupanda i-Jerusalem ngokulandelela. This is not Kafir.

8. "When ye shall search for me with all your power, I will be there."—Ndiya kupanda i-Jerusalem ngokulandelela. This is not Kafir.

9. "When ye shall search for me with all your power, I will be there."—Ndiya kupanda i-Jerusalem ngokulandelela. This is not Kafir.

10. "When ye shall search for me with all your power, I will be there."—Ndiya kupanda i-Jerusalem ngokulandelela. This is not Kafir.

11. "When ye shall search for me with all your power, I will be there."—Ndiya kupanda i-Jerusalem ngokulandelela. This is not Kafir.

12. "When ye shall search for me with all your power, I will be there."—Ndiya kupanda i-Jerusalem ngokulandelela. This is not Kafir.

13. "When ye shall search for me with all your power, I will be there."—Ndiya kupanda i-Jerusalem ngokulandelela. This is not Kafir.

I think I have, in the above examples, shown that this Translation cannot be accepted as satisfactory, and that a new version is required, for this—not to speak of other reasons—that in the translation which it gives of particular words it is very often inconsistent with itself, self-contradictory, and incorrect to a very great degree.

I am yours—R. Ross.

From Mr JOHN BENNIE, *Lovedale*.

LOVEDALE, Sept. 3rd, 1866.

REV JAMES LAING, Secy.

Dear Sir,—I am in receipt of your circular, and in compliance with your request hereby send you my views on the translation of the Kafir Bible made by Mr Appleyard.

Having been present at a meeting of conference of Missionaries, at which the subject was brought up, my attention was drawn to it, and I was led to examine it more carefully than I had done before. I had used it very seldom, and was aware that errors existed, but was disappointed to find that there were so many, and some of such a serious nature as, in my opinion, to render this Translation unfit for being received as a standard Translation.

There are many idiomatic and grammatical errors. For example, in Luke viii. 42, "Yafi yoma yafin' ukufa,"—"she wished to die." Why change the old translation "yalele iza kufa." There is no such word in Kafir as "zaminanda."

I Cor. iv. 7, "Jengokungati akwayamkela" should rather be—"ngati akuyamkelanga."

Mark xvi. 2, "Bati kwakusasa nye beza" would mean, "They came early this morning," i.e.—the morning of the day on which you are speaking. Why put in the *nye*?

I Cor. iv. 5, Inkosi,—"*eyakuti...azazise...awabonakalise*."—glaring grammatical errors. Inkosi should be followed by "*izazise*," and "*iwabonakalise*."

Verse 15, "Abondhileli" would mean "instructors for." "Abondhileli," simply instructors. But this is not the Kafir word for 'instructors.'

But what makes the Translation even more objectionable, is the employment of improper words, which, in many cases, would, by the omission or insertion of a syllable be correct, but which, as they stand, render the passages where they occur, either unintelligible or ambiguous.

In I Cor. iii. 13, there occurs the clause "uya kuwuhlakazela," meaning "(the day) will distribute it freely;" while "uyakuwuhlakaza," would mean, "it will show it openly."

Acts xiii. 23, "Yaza yabiza inkosikulu" standing at the commencement of a paragraph might be taken as meaning, the centurion called—for "Inkosikulu" is alike in both numbers;—or he (the chief captain) called the centurions. By making it "Yazibiza," all ambiguity would be removed.

The fact that the natives do not like the Translation, is itself very significant. An intelligent Native speaking of it, said "the language is thrown away."

Two intelligent Native young men, at present pupils in the Seminary, went over a part of I Cor. with me, and in every chapter we read, there appeared several mistakes.

I should have been most happy to have attended the meeting, but cannot possibly do so.

Trusting that what will be done in the meeting, will accomplish the main object for which it has been called, namely—to advance the interests of the Redeemer's Kingdom.

Yours very sincerely—JOHN BENNIE.

### LAYMEN NOT MISSIONARIES.

From JOHN DRUMMOND LAING, M.D. *Burnsville*.

BURNSHILL, 10th August 1863.

The Rev. JAMES LAING, Secretary,  
Dear Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Circular of the 6th July, on the present Translation of the Bible into the Kafir language, and will gladly make a few remarks on the same.

1st, Because I consider the subject to be one of great importance; and 2nd, Because it is high time that this matter should receive the consideration it demands. From these remarks you will see that I am far from considering the present translation correct; and it is certainly no improvement on the old translation. Indeed correctness seems to be the exception; for open the book where you will, and you cannot fail to find errors. The style of translation is clumsy, difficult to read, and often difficult to understand, even by the best Kafir scholars. I have noticed that those who read Kafir fluently enough in general, do not read the Bible in its present form with half the same fluency; and many if asked the question, "Understandest thou what thou readest?" would have to answer in the negative. It is much to be regretted that a book which, as far as possible, ought to be rendered so plain, that "he who runs may read, and he who reads may understand," should be so very much the opposite of this, as is the present translation. I do not think I go too far in saying, thus to those who have acquired the art of reading in adult age, and who read with difficulty, the present translation is a comparatively sealed book. If those who have had the advantages of an early education find a difficulty in reading their own language; how much more those who have not been thus benefited; nor is it wonderful that so many of those who understand both English and Kafir should prefer to read the Kafir from the English. In forming my opinion I have proceeded on the plan of taking notes on those portions I have heard read in English, I myself using the Kafir, and vice versa, and not taken portions to which my attention has been specially directed; nor made selections merely for the sake of criticism.

I have arranged a few thoughts under the following heads:—

Not Grammatical.

Not idiomatic.

Redundant.

Wrong Translation.

Obscure meaning.

Objectionable words.

NOT GRAMMATICAL.—It may be urged against this, that the language of an

uncivilized people has no grammar, and that therefore one requires to be made for them. But if grammar is "the science of speaking correctly," the Kafir language possesses this in a very high degree. The veriest child talks grammar as if by intuition, and requires no book-learning to do so. But the point I wish to bring out is this, that the present translation is full of ungrammatical expressions, that is—the grammar as spoken by the natives and others well acquainted with the language. It is a well-known fact, that the Kafir language, as spoken by the natives and those Europeans "born and brought up" amongst them, is peculiarly grammatical, so that any departure from the grammar is instantly recognised. An illustration of this may be seen in the many blunders a European makes in endeavouring to acquire the language.

I have selected a few examples in illustration of this head.

2 Kings vi. 7. Xicole kuwe, in Kafir should be, —zicholele, or zibabzele. Wayesohla, conveys the idea 'was stretching out,' and then some interpolation occurs to prevent his getting it. The correct phrase would be, 'Wasohulake isandiso saka wayitabata.'

John xx. 16. 'Ndixelele apo uyibetile pina,' should be—'ndixelele apo uyibeko kons.'

Ruth i. 15. Buva wena uye emva &c. should be—Buva nowe, ulandele &c.

Ruth i. 19.—Sazanyanyiswa leixeko sonko pesu kwabo—The whole city was shaken above them.—should be, ngenxa yabo.

Ruth i. 22. Kwa njalo wabuya u-Nahomi, ought to be—kwubanjalo ukubuya kuka-Naomi.

Jeremiah xxxi. 35. Owanika ilanga is past, and ought to be—onika ilanga.

Psalms xxvii. 5. Wondifihlola means, he will hide for me—and ought to be, wondifihla. He may as well say further on in the same verse, Wondimisela for wondimis.

Jeremiah xlix. 10. Ade akohlwe kukusimela means "until he is unable because of hiding," and ought to be—akusiyitoba nako ukufihla.

Jeremiah xlix. 23. Ngokotruba should be ngokuba.

John ix. 2. Ngubaniwa owabeosha? should be—koniswa, ngubaniwa? Ukuba abe nokusala wena, "that he may be able to be born," and ought to be—lento vavazwa.

Ruth ii. 1. Owezalwane should be—wezalwane.

Psalms xl. 7. Nanku sekusiza mina should be—nanku ndisiza.

Psalms lx. 8. Ndiyazanda mina should be—Ndiyazanda or Laruyo lwam.

Psalms xxxii. 3. Ndinakuti cwaka—Kute ndakuti cwaka.

Ruth ii. 2. Wayesiti buye.

Ruth i. 20. Wayesiti kubo.

Ruth ii. 19. Wayesiti umondoda wake.

#Wayesiti: This form of the verb runs through the whole translation, and is quite wrong, as it expresses an action long past.

Ruth i. 13. Ukuba isandiso means 'if the hand,' and ought to be—Ngokuba isandiso.

Psalms xxv. 5. Ngokuba wena usovutixo wosindiswa lwami—Ngokuba ungu-Tixo wosindiso lwam.

Psalms xxv. 6. Ngotruba kungumaphade ntsoyo—Ngokuba kulade ziko.

Psalms xxv. 12. Lowamntu umoyikayo Uyehova nguwupina?—Lowamntu means 'that person.' The phrase should be—Nguwupina umntu omoyikayo u-Yehova?

Psalms xxv. 13. Umhlaba woba lilifa—Umhlaba usakuba lilifa.

Psalms xxv. 22. Kuzo zonke imbandedzelwa zake—Kuzo zonke imbandedzelwa zake.

Psalms xxvii. 6. Kanjalo kaloku inkloko yami yopukanyiswa pesulu pesu kweshaba zani ezingcongayo—Kaloku inkloko yami iya kupukanyiswa pesu kweshaba zani ezingcongayo.

1 Samuel xvii. 28. Uzichiyile kubanina?—Uzichiyile nabanina?

John xv. 16. Nima ananyula mina, koko mina ndanyula ulina.—Andinyulanga nini; kodwa ndininyula.

Imitations i. 3. Ijuda yemkile ngokutinjwa—Ijuda imkile ngokutinjwa, or ingemile okutinjweni.

Lamentations iii. 37. Kuzo kwand' ukubako—Kuzo kubeko.

Psalms xxv. 21. Mandondolozwe kukunyanyisa nokulungisa.—Mandigcinwe yinyaniso na bubulungisa.

Acts x. 9. Wenyukela u-Petrosi pesu kwentungo.—U-Petrosi wenyukela entungo.

Acts vii. 40. Yeyipina indawo?—Yiyipina indawo?

Acts vii. 50. Isandiso sami sasenza ezisinto zonke na?—Isandiso sam asi zezanjana zonke ezisinto?

Daniel ii. 29. Oko okuya kubako—Okuyakubako.

Acts xii. 4. Wamnikela kwanselamu umazoe &c.—Wamnikela kwanselamu umazoe &c.

**NOT IDIOMATIC.**—Some of the illustrations under the last head might be used as examples of inaccurate idiom. The present translation is very inaccurate as to idiomatic expressions, which are the very heart and soul of a translation. It is one of the first duties of a translator to make himself so conversant with a language, viz. the language into which the translation is to be rendered, that he may be able to construe his sentences as much in the idiom of that language, as a due regard to the correct rendering of the original will permit. But Mr Appleyard seems to throw aside all the rules of idiom, or in trying to be idiomatic he overdoes the thing, and simply writes nonsense. I shall note a few illustrations:—

Ruth i. 8. Hamhani, nibuye niye umnyo ngumyhe endihlwinl kunyoko. Hamhani, ati lowo abuyele endihlwinl kanina.

Ruth i. 11. Kungonina ukuba niya kubamba nuni? Kungonina ukuba niya kubamba nuni?

Ruth i. 13. Ngenibalandana? Ngenibalandana?

Ruth ii. 5. Waza wati u-Boazi kwisaka sako esisimisiwe pesu kwabavuni: yakabonina inkazana lo?

Wati u-Boazi kumkondeli wake obemisiwe abavuni: Yehobanina letombi?

Ruth ii. 6. Eyubuyayo no-Nahomi ezweni le-Mowabi. Eyubuyayo no-Nahomi ezweni le-Mowabi.

Ruth ii. 7. Yaku yati.—Iteke.

Ruth ii. 8. Akuvanga na, ntombi yami? Uyevana ntombi yam?

Ruth ii. 7. Yavuna ukubako kuseloko kwesyo kwada kwakaloku nje, wabala endihlwinl umzurwana kwapela.

Kuseloko yabako kwakusasa kwada kwakaloku nje, ayihlale nge nanzurwana endihlwinl.

Ruth ii. 8. Ungayi ukubikisa kwesye intsimi, kanjalo ungenuki kulendawo, uti un'watelele apa ndawonye nezakazana zami.

Ungayi kubikisa kuyombi intsimi, ungenuki apa; kodwa hlala apa kufuni nomtjina.

In this particular passage I think the word *andinyasa* very applicable, and it is quite legitimate to use it.

Ruth ii. 9. Usele koko bakole kona abafana. Usele oko kubo kufiwe ngabafana.

Ruth ii. 9. Anehlalo ako makabe sentsimi evunwayo, uzilandele; andibayelelanga abafana na ukuba mabangakucukumisi?

Anehlalo ako makabe sentsimi abayirumayo; andibayinlanga abafana ubaba bangakucukumisi?

Ruth ii. 4. Kefaleku bona ke, u-Boazi wavela e-Betelehem, wati kubo abavuni: UYEHOVA makabe nani! Basi nakuye UYEHOVA makabamsengele wena!

Bomake u-Boazi wafika erela e-Betelehem, wati kubavuni: U-Yehova makabe nani! Bampendula ngokuti u-Yehova makakusikele!

U-Yehova makabe nani! Bampendula ngokuti u-Yehova makakusikele!





In conclusion I would only remark on the orthography of the proper names which I think should be kept as much as possible in their original form.

Hoping these few remarks may be of use.

I remain, yours truly—J. DRYDEN LANGE.

From CHARLES BROWNLIE, Esq. Resident Magistrate  
of Stellenbosch, and Commissioner of the Grika Kaffirs.

The following is Mr Brownlee's answer to one of a series of questions, sent by Dr. Dull, and which Mr Govan had requested him to answer. The question is—"Can this version be revised, or must there be an entirely new one?" To this Mr Brownlee answers:—"The objections to Mr Appleyard's translation consist chiefly in the phraseology. The renderings are mostly given in a foreign form, that is—they are given in the way that a foreigner would render a language acquired as an adult. The manner and not the matter is what is objected to. Great care has been taken to give the true meaning of the original. The labour of a new translation may therefore be avoided, and a revision may be all that is required. The defective rendering is more particularly felt in the sublime and beautiful books, such as Isaiah, some of the Psalms, &c. In these, we have not only truth, but truth given in the most lovely and beautiful form; and which loses much of its power, if the bare and simple truth is given, without the sublime form in which we have it in the English Version. In reading Kafir from the English Version, I have often been struck with the adaptability of the poetical books for translation into the Kafir language. These books, with their simple and sublime language, without abstract and doctrinal terms, can be so rendered that their beauty would strike the ear of a heathen Kafir, though their truth might fail to influence his heart; and this is not a point of small importance. Truth attractively brought before an unbeliever is more likely, humanly speaking, to touch the heart, and cause reflection, than the same truth less attractively put. Whether any new Edition of the Scriptures will be simply a revision, or a new translation, must of necessity depend on those entrusted with the work.

CHAS. BROWNLIE.

In communicating this and his other answers, Mr Brownlee says—"In illustration of my meaning, in reference to the defective rendering, I will endeavour to send you a few Examples.—The 1st Chapter of Genesis is where I have opened the Bible; and I will select my illustrations from it, though I have never read this Chapter in the present Translation.

1st Verse—for wadale u-Tixo, I would say, u-Tixo wadale.

2nd Verse—for wabugxwayiba, I would say, wabugxwayiba.

2nd Verse—for wauzi karjalo, I would say, karjalo wauzi. In the translation the meaning may be, that the world was void again, or another time; by the transposition of the words, Karjalo stands simply as the conjuncture.

2nd Verse—for kwabako, I would say, kwakuko. Kwabako, there became—Kwakuko, there was.

2nd Verse—for waye wazamazama. I would say, waye wazamazama, or wadi wazamazama.

3rd Verse—I do not know why wayesiti is used for wati in this verse and in other places, except it be in accordance with the idiom of the original.

7th Verse—kwaye karjalo ka, means—so it has been. I would say, kwabuyileko. From the translation, the effect of the order appears to indicate a state of things previous to the order.

9th Verse—Bndaweni lanye—I would either use the contracted form Bndaweni 'nye, or endaweni nye.

10th Verse—Ukhlanganisana, appears to give an active agency to the waters. For ukhlanganisana, I would say—inkhlanganiselo, inkhlangano; or inkhlanganiselo yemantzi.

11th Verse—For uuka, I would say, onika—if nika were the correct word—but it cannot be used in this sense. Nika is 'give to' and is not used in reference to yielding or giving fruit or seed. In the English Version, the word is yielding in reference to herbs, as well as trees. In the translation, two different words are used, and both inappropriately. Ukhlanganisana is used in reference to trees. It cannot be used in this sense, and is applicable only to pumpkins, melons, and plants of that nature. Ukwelisa, or Ukwakata, should be used. Ukwelisa is applicable to all kinds and varieties of plants, without distinction—it conveys the exact meaning of the English rendering. Its meaning is to produce, to bring forth, to make visible—to yield—as in the yielding of fruit.

11th Verse—For ngemulko, I would say—ngocholobo. Ngemulko does not necessarily convey the meaning of sort or kind—It also means appearance of growth, without reference to the nature of the thing. Uchibo means the sort or kind, and does not refer to external appearance.

I think what I have noted will prove sufficient as illustrations; and I believe that the Chapter which I have taken my illustrations from is a fair specimen of the translation. At any rate there is not an easier Chapter for translation in the whole Bible.

I remain, &c.—CHARLES BROWNLIE.

From J. C. WARNER, Esq. British Residency, Transkeie.

BRITISH RESIDENCY, TRANSKEIE,  
Sept. 11th, 1866.

The Rev. JAMES LANG, Burnhill,

My dear Sir,—Frequent absence from home, and a great press of business must be my apology for not having acknowledged your Circular on the subject of a new Translation of the Scriptures into the Kafir language. I entirely agree with you, that the present Translation cannot be accepted as satisfactory, as it is certainly very defective; but if by a "new version" any measure is in contemplation which would involve as a consequence, two separate and contemporaneous versions of the Scriptures to be circulated amongst the Kaffirs, then I would respectfully suggest that a more excellent way would be to form a Committee of all denominations, to revise the present one.

I am, my dear Sir, yours very sincerely—J. C. WARNER.

The following came to hand while those of the Episcopal Church were passing through the press:—

From Mr CHARLES TABERER, Fort Beaufort.

TRINITY MISSION, FORT BEAUFORT,  
October 26th, 1866.

Rev. WILLIAM GOVAN,

My dear Sir—Having been asked to give my opinion on the new Kafir Bible, I shall do so in a very few words, as the subject will, I doubt not, be ably handled by older and more

experienced Missionaries. I think that this translation is not at all perfect, and is, in some points, inferior to older translations. I have been told repeatedly by natives, that it is roundabout in its mode of expression, and consequently the sense is in many places very obscure. They also tell me that they prefer the older translations, although they by no means consider them perfect.

I have for some time past discontinued its use on this Mission, confining myself, as much as possible, to the *Kafir Prayer Book* (translated by Missionaries of the Church of England) lately printed in England.

I remain my dear Sir, yours faithfully—CHARLES TABERER.

#### NOTICES OF SHORT COMMUNICATIONS FROM MISSIONARIES AND OTHERS.

The Rev. WM. MURRAY Ox Kreal, and the Rev. JOHN SCHAFER Mgwali were present at the meeting at King Williams Town in Sept., and concurred in its proceedings; but, having an imperfect knowledge of the *Kafir* language, they did not think themselves qualified to express an opinion on the merits of Mr Appleyard's version.

The Rev. JOHN BROWLIE, was present at the Meetings at King Williams's Town, and fully concurred in the proceedings of the Committee, but has not expressed his views in writing.

Brief communications have also been received from the Rev. Mr GRAY Shiloh, Rev. JOHN ROSS Piria, the Rev. JAMES READ Philipson, the Rev. R. EDWARDS Port Elizabeth, and also from Mr JOHN MCGREGOR Gaiulu.

Mr ROSS says—"I can now make no comments on the translations in question, nor is it necessary; as it is well known that I am not satisfied with Mr Appleyard's translations of the Old and New Testament Scriptures. It is high time that all the talent which is available for such an onerous work should be called into exercise."

Mr READ says—"Although I am not a *Kafir* scholar, I approve of the meeting. I had before heard from some of the brethren of some very glaring and remarkable errors in the translation."

Mr EDWARDS says—"My knowledge of the native dialects is confined to Sechuana and Seuto. Of the *Kafir* I know very little; and of course I cannot presume to give an opinion on the translation in question. You have, I am happy to know, native-born educated men, who are well able to give correct renderings, idiomatically free from error." He adds—"I have consulted with some intelligent *Kafir* readers, who seemed to feel that the present version is 'beyond their depth.' But as I do not understand their language, they were not able to explain to me their views more fully."

Mr MCGREGOR says—"I am aware that there are many errors in the present version. Active employment in my business leaves me but little time to particularise them. I have at times noticed some of them to you as they occurred."

#### NATIVE LETTER SENT BY THE REV. ALBERT MAGGS.

MRUNDET.—Ndimana ukubeka imigcama ibe mibawa ngachibelelo estichilelweyo selirwi lika-Tixo. Le indaba ikunyushwe kakubhe ngapena kwale indaba. Intseto yayo le intseta iyantsokota ayiyilekile. Ukuba umntu uyayilaseha akusiqeki into esingadela kuyo, iyakunsa ukutseta kwayo akusiqeki akucandeki into eyayendelele injengokutshi inkwenzela ayikenzeki.

Kodwa andisho ukufi le indaba ayinapipiso inaso, kodwa amawzi ayo anokumselela ngokwes-Hkosa. Ndi kenna elungileyo yile indaba, ngapena kwale indaba. Le ayitetyanini maxa lisechwayo, itambekile. Le indaba liyavakula ilirwi lincosilele noko. Le ngumtywakaniselo wamawzi arufwa vutireyo, lasi elifanele ukuba libe leloluqubela, libe setupeleni. Xiyi enye indawo elangela inkaseleke, niyazike ukuba umntu akana-kuqonda yintoni. Kodwa nguti ubetuna ukutseta ngokudala, kanti asikuyi-ntokota. Singazuya ukuba lwema kwa endala endaweni yale. Karijalo kufakwe namawzi setwa maza sukuba kufumane kutsetwa anjalo akafuneki e-Tsetacenebeni. Zimndzi indawo ngati ukuba siyazipengulula, abone amawzi ngumawzi osingawagondiyi.

#### (TRANSLATION.)

Rev. Sir,—I wish to put down a few lines on the Editions that have been printed of the Word of God. The old (edition) is a better translation than the new. The language of the new is mysteriously obscure. If a person is reading it, there is no understanding what it would be at, or its drift—it would be out but again recedes; its style is not clear (in speaking) of a thing that has taken place,—it is as if it was still to take place not having yet happened.

I do not say the old one has no faults, but still its words follows some what the *Kafir* idiom. I for my part hold that the old is far better than the new. This one (the new), in reading it, is not plain nor to the point, but takes to the side. In the old though a word may be wrong, yet you understand it. This one is a compound of mixed and remixed words—so that the word that should have been put last is put first. This is one reason of the complaints against it, for ye know that in such a production the meaning cannot be understood. Yet it is as if the (translator) was desirous to speak in an ancient style—but he has made it mysteriously obscure. We would rejoice if in place of this one we had still the old. Again, in this one there are words which are used in light talk, such are not desirable in the Scriptures. There are many passages, which if we were to examine them, we would find words here and there that we could not understand.



## The Glasgow University Student Record

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## Appendix C:

*What is the Destiny of the Kaffir Race?* By Tiyo Soga

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Tiyo Soga

*King William's Town Gazette and Kaffrarian Banner*

11 May 1865

What is the Destiny of the Kaffir race?

To the Editor: Sir, -- It is only lately that an article with the above title appeared within the columns of your journal. A[s] one admirable trait in the character of a true Englishman, is his love of 'fair play,' I trust you will have no objection in giving space to an unpretending rejoinder to that startling production. I would have sent it to the Kaffir periodical from which, I believe, it was taken by your paper, but difficulties have, in the meantime, suspended its republication.

I only at the outset avow myself to the writer of that article to be one of those who hold the very opposite of the views he has given forth to the public, on the important question of the extinction of the Kaffir race. If he had said that the three reasons he has advanced to prove his case, form some of the difficulties in the way of elevating this people, I would have understood him clearly. But when he draws from them the astounding conclusion of their extinction, that conclusion I cannot accept until it rests upon surer premises.

The article seems inconsistent with itself, and so to a certain extent the ill effects, which otherwise it could not have failed to produce, is (sic) neutralized. Few men would believe in the doom of any people, and then accept the illogical words of the two last paragraphs, which close the article.

But to enter more particularly into the examination of the views the author has advanced, I call your unbiased attention to the glaring fact that the writer passes over in silence the results of missionary labours among the Kaffirs for the last fifty years. Is this fair? In the difficult and necessarily slow work of elevating men, surely the smallest results are worthy of appreciation. Has nothing then, as a set off to the gloomy picture, been done among this people in fifty years? Without seeking to enter into details, I hold that mission stations would return to the question the emphatic answer that something has been done, and is doing, yea, that a great deal has been done, for which missionaries thank God and take courage. But here is a point which the author must verify for himself. Take a nation – any nation in the exact circumstances of the Kaffirs of South

Africa – compare the Kaffirs with that nation (for it is futile and unfair to compare him to a European with the advantage of a civilisation and Christianity of 15 or 18 centuries), give that nation the same number of years – fifty, -- during which the experiments of civilizing and christianizing have been tried, let this work among that nation have had to contend with the difficulties of three ruinous wars, and with the introduced views of civilization, and he will find that the Kaffirs or rather the results of Christian labours among them, well stand nobly the test of the comparison.

The sentence which ends the first large division of Reason 1, evinces an unpardonable ignorance of facts, and of the recent history of the people, the knell of whose doom of extinction the writer has rung. It does monstrous injustice to a class of natives who amid much that is against them have been striving to rise and to improve. The historical facts I shall purposely set aside, but what does he make of three or four hundred Kaffirs and Fingoes who have bought 80 acre lots from government? And of many now ready to buy if they could get the chance? Are these men unworthy of notice? If they are, then that I may give up all controversy, and accept the theory of the doom of the Kaffir race, will the writer inform the public what the usual length of time, allowed by those who compute these things, for the appearance of the first signs of improvement in education, in Christianity, and in civilization, beginning from the first day of their introduction among a people? Until he can show that the Kaffirs have out-stepped the limited of the boundary line of improvement, I cannot take it absolutely that there are no signs of better things among them, and I shall not believe in their distinction.

The concluding sentences for Reason II will meet with the approbation of those who wish nothing well to the Kaffir race; but it is wide of the truth. Here a part is taken for the whole, the exception for the rule. The many hundreds of native young men, in Mission Stations, members of churches, and teachers in Sabbath Schools, do they answer to this flowery description? Did those before them as young men answer to it? I mean the present elders, and deacons, and class readers in those stations – staunch men, who for consistency of Christian character, considering the ‘Slough of Despond’ out of which Christianity has lifted them, will compare with the multitudes of their white brethren, who can boast of greater advantages. Here is a large class of Christian young men in mission institutions, made in this gaudy description to suffer for the few who are not well-doers. And why should there be no ill-doers among young men in Mission Stations? What wonder is there, if there are? Are there not many such among our European youths in our cities and towns?

I have already, Sir, referred to the concluding paragraphs of the article in question. The first begins, ‘a golden opportunity, &c,’ the second, ‘Here are a people capable of being exalted, &c.’ Now what good can ‘a golden opportunity’ do for men who are doomed? Is there really a golden

opportunity for such? And then they are ‘capable’, are they? And yet doomed? The writer will please forgive me for it, I cannot reconcile this. The Kaffirs are ‘indolent,’ ‘drunken,’ averse to change; then ‘doomed to extinction,’ and yet ‘capable.’ If I take the other terms, or rather facts, the last cannot follow – impossible.

Permit me, Sir, before I close to make some general observations, embodying some humble views of your correspondent on this momentous question. When the writers of the article ‘What is the Destiny of the Kaffir Race’ overturns (sic) these views by other arguments than those with which he has favored the public, I shall then believe in the doom of the Kaffir Race.

And here I remark that the author does not state whether he limits this doom to the small section of the Amakosa Kaffirs, including the Gaikas, the Galakas, and Slambies, or whether it extends to the numerous and powerful tribes of the Finoe Kaffirs, the Tambookie Kaffires, the Amampondo Kaffirs, the Anapondomisi Kaffirs, the Zulu Kaffirs, and the Amaswazi Kaffirs. I find the family of the Kaffir tribe extending nearly to the equator; along this line I find them taking the north-eastern coast of Africa, the dominant and the governing race; they are all one in language, and are one people – for language is that which decides the difference between one race and another. Now, I venture to say that if this doom includes all these tribes, the process of its extinction will be very long indeed.

Here is another view. Africa was of God given to the race of Ham. I find the Negro from the days of the old Assyrians downwards, keeping his ‘individuality’ and ‘distinctiveness’, amid the wreck of empires, and the revolution of ages. I find him keeping his place among the nations, and keeping his home and country. I find him opposed by nation after nation and driven from his home. I find him enslaved – exposed to the vices and the brandy of the white man. I find him in this condition for many a day – in the West Indian Islands, in Northern and Southern America, and in the South American Colonies of Spain and Portugal. I find him exposed to all these disasters, and yet living – multiplying ‘and never extinct.’ Yeah, I find him now as the prevalence of Christian and philanthropic opinions on the right of man obtains among civilized nations, returning unmanacled to the land of his forefathers, taking back with him the civilization and the Christianity of those nations. (See the Negro Republic of Liberia). I find the negro in the present struggle in America looking forward – though still with chains in his hands and with chains on his feet – yet looking forward to the dawn of a better day for himself and all his sable brethren in Africa. Until the Negro is doomed against all history and experience – until his God-given inheritance of Africa be taken finally from him, I shall never believe in the total extinction of his brethren along the southern limits of the land of Ham. The fact that the dark races of this vast continent, amid intestine wars and revolutions, and notwithstanding external spoliation, have remained ‘unextinct,’ have

retained their individuality, has baffled historians, and challenges the author of the doom of the Kaffir race in a satisfactory explanation. There has been observed among these races the operation of a singular law, by which events have readjusted themselves when they threatened their destruction. I believe firmly that among the Negro races of South African events will follow the same law, and therefore neither the indolence or the Kaffirs, nor their aversion to change, nor the vices of civilization, all of which barriers the gospel must overthrow, shall suffice to exterminate them as a people.

I take another ground. How does the extinction of the Kaffir race tally with the glowing prediction – the sheet-anchor of the Church of Christ, and of the expectations of the toil-worn African missionary – ‘Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands to God? The total extinction of a people who form a large family of races to whom the promise applies, shall not, surely, precede its fulfilment. In this matter, I for one shall adhere to the declaration of the ‘old book’ before I accept the theories of men.

To the same effect. Can a nation sunk in the barbarism of the Kaffirs, --the barbarism of ages – elevate itself? Is it an easy thing for them to go out of the hut, along which their habits, customs, and prejudices, have for ages moved? What other nation has done this easily and at once? Civilization and Christianity have in the first instance to be introduced among such a people. Then time, comprising generations – centuries – is allowed before they are expected to leaven the whole mass. Now among these doomed Kaffirs christianity has been introduced, and it is yet to be shown that among other races in circumstances exactly similar, it has accomplished more in the same space of time. But as for civilization and education, the have never been carried on among them as systems and great means of elevating people. This has never been done to any extent worthy of being spoken of by any person at all acquainted with the history of Kaffirland. With regard to education, missionaries have never been able to do more than introduce only the elements. With but one or two exceptions they could attempt nothing that ever came up to their most ardent wishes. Had the silver and gold of the world been theirs, they would have done vastly more, and with greater results. Is it not a fact known to the writer himself that neither of their great benefactors, the missionaries, nor the parents, have adequate means to make many a sober and promising native youth anything better than grooms and wagon drivers. Would that the Government of Great Britain, the Father of its many peoples, would come forward with aids worthy of the Greatness.

The writer admits that the ‘outlaws and refuse’ of the mother country have introduced vices among the Kaffirs. Well, then, all that is wanted to conserve the life, and to advance the alternate elevation of aboriginal races is to give the Gospel by itself and Christian civilization by itself.

Defensor.



## Appendix D:

What is the Destiny of The Kaffer Race? by John Aitken Chalmers

King William's Town Gazette and Kaffrarian  
Banner. April 3rd, 1865.

See SOGA's reply to this letter. (Publ. 17 May 1865 under pseudonym

'DEFENSOR')

1  
See May 29 '65  
JA Chalmers's  
Reply  
to Sooga

### RECREATIONS OF A MISSIONARY.

#### WHAT IS THE DESTINY OF THE KAFFIR RACE?

(From the Indaba)

This is a question of vital importance to every labourer in the mission-field. Either this people are to rise in the scale of civilization, and play an important part in the history of this Colony, or else every year must witness their extinction until at last they pass away, and be forgotten for ever. Now I do not claim any prophetic foresight, neither would I dogmatize in the few remarks I make, but there are no doubt some things which indicate what the future of this people is to be. If they are to melt away, then the sooner every Christian workman girds himself for action the better, ere they be lost to us for ever; if on the other hand they are to rise then with redoubled energy let us toil, so that they may beatir themselves and pass from this state of helpless infancy in which they have so long lingered.

The conclusion to which, after much careful thought and observation, I have come to is this, That the Kaffir race seems doomed to extinction, because:—

#### I. Their indolent habits are a barrier to their progress.

The Kaffir has but few wants; if he has what will feed him from day to day, if he has a covering to his naked body, if he has a pipe full of tobacco wherewith to soothe himself, if he has a few head of cattle, he cares for nothing more, he is quite independent: he has no desire to work, no ambition to better himself, no anxiety as to the future. With the possession of very little he can live in luxurious idleness,—a perfect gentleman,—reclining the forenoon day, ever ready to hear what news the travellers who daily pass his kraal may pour into his listening ear. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof," is undoubtedly the motto of every Kaffir. It would baffle the ingenuity of the most skilled sermonizer to preach to them from the text, "Be careful for nothing," &c., for in reality the Kaffir is careless for nothing. If he stands in need of a blanket, he goes off to the neighbouring town, works there a few days, and as soon as his object is gained, he returns home. In like manner with his hut-tax. For a few weeks during the sowing season, he labours vigorously in his garden, in the harvest time of the year again he bestirs himself. Such is the history of this people—with few wants—totally oblivious of the future—heedless of the wane of the coming day and the coming year, they have encephalised themselves in a shell of idleness and careless indolence out of which no human skill or ingenuity can extricate them. What then is the result? Others are reaping where they ought to gather, others are gathering gold by means which they ought to adopt, others are purchasing and cultivating small farms which by industry they ought to have possessed.

It is the desire of the Kaffirs to keep things as they were; despite their poverty they will not arouse themselves. Now there is nothing so designing, nothing which keeps down a nation, nothing so unnatural as to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress; and the cause of all

the evils among them may be traced to that natural but most deadly error of indolence; their business seems to be to preserve their old slothful habits whilst their present circumstances call loudly for an improvement. This undoubtedly will lead to ruin.

#### II. They have a great antipathy to Education

As a people, they do not value education, they have no desire to be instructed, they are quite content to live in ignorance. The most arduous work at a Mission Station is the instruction of the young. Even native Christian parents cannot be trained to send their children regularly to

school, they seem to have no interest in the work, it is all left to the pastor and teacher. As for the heathen children there is nothing more disheartening than their utter callousness to receive instruction. Ignorance can never do any good in the world; and no nation can be great which ignores the steps to greatness. Education, religious and secular, is the mighty agent for the advancement of the arts of civilization. The

men who wield a power over their fellow-creatures, influence their thoughts, mould their actions and elevate them, are those who have given themselves to the cultivation of their intellects. If individuals and nations despise education, those surely who are educated must supplant the ignorant.

In this age of progress when advances are being made in every walk of life, the unlearned must necessarily go to the wall, while the learned must step in and drive barbarism before them. The trite remark, That barbarism must ever flee before civilization, I take not to mean, that the barbarians must be exterminated, but that the vice must give place to the virtue; the barbarians must themselves, seeing the advantages of civilization, adopt them. Has this been the case with the Kaffirs? Assuredly not; there is nothing so lightly esteemed by them as education, or habits of civilization; they have received innumerable advantages, but still that cold, heartless indifference to be taught; and this being the case they cannot rise. Steeped in ignorance, every year must witness a gradual sinking until they lose their nationality and become the off-scourings of society, as were the Hottentots before them. When a Kaffir youth has got a smattering of knowledge he is quite a proficient, he wishes nothing more. His ambition then is to be a gentleman, a sort of peacock bedizened with ornaments of the gaudiest hue.

Imperceptibly, by their disregard to education and its advantages, they are going headlong to ruin, rising only to the unenviable position of wagon-drivers and grooms. Neither this generation nor the next may witness their extinction,

but it is a law that wherever education is at a low ebb the mass of the people must sink.

#### III. One other destructive agent is the Vices which have been imported.

May be it from me to say one single word in condemnation of the European population of this Colony, but here is an undeniable fact, which I state second hand, inasmuch as it is the opinion of one of the greatest and best men England ever had—That the outlaws and refuse of the mother country find an easy access into every colony. It happens in every colony that the vilest excesses, the ignorance and wickedness of Britain, are imported, while the good elements are left behind in the process. Such is the case with this Colony, and no words can tell the evil which has been brought upon us by men who have been too poor to bring with them the higher branches of knowledge. Now the Kaffirs are fast imbibing these vices with greed. That fatal vice drunkenness, for example, is making and havoc of the people whom we ought to have elevated by every means in our power.

There is not a Kaffir chief of any note who is not a slave to the vice. Hitherto this people have remained unconquered, but British Brandy is rapidly depriving them of their nobility and sapping their strength, so that we are heaping misery on ourselves by increasing around us the number of drunkards who must be a curse to ourselves and a bane to the country. A Kaffir has no idea of drinking in moderation; it is a glorious thing for him to be drunk, a source of pride and joy. Time was when it was criminal

P.T.O.



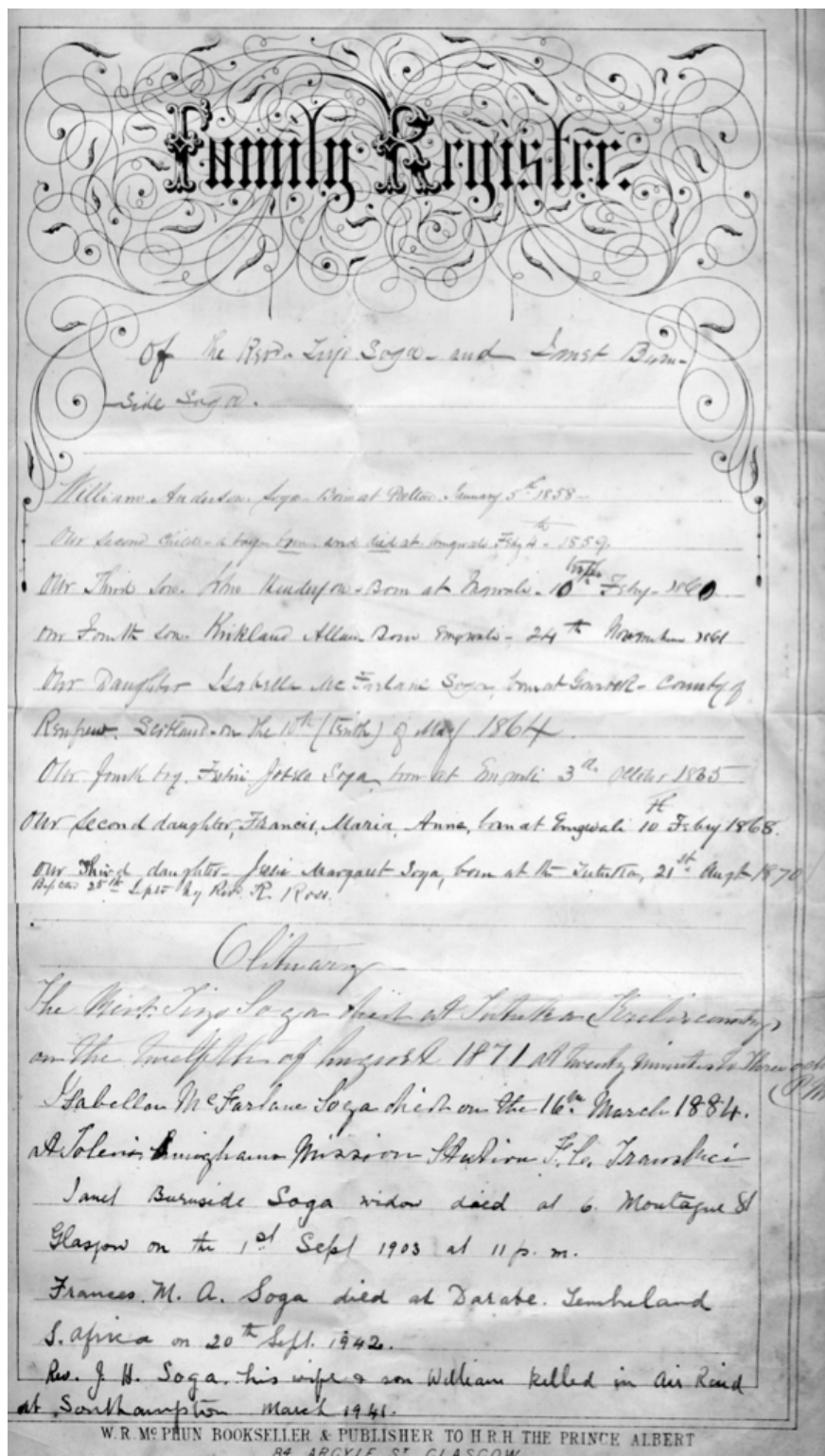
to sell drink to a native in British Kaffraria, but that law has been rescinded; so that now at every road-side-hotel, and every canteen in town and country, there is for ever to be seen a crowd of lazy, drunken Kaffirs, thirsting eagerly for a draught of the fatal poison. This will most effectually exterminate them if the weapons of British warfare have failed, and soon we shall have perpetually reeling along the streets of our towns poor, miserable, starving inebriates, whom by our free trade, we have brought to the level of the brute creation.

These three reasons, simply stated, suffice to convince one that the doom of the Kaffirs seems sealed, that they are destined to extinction.

A great effort then must now be made, or we miss a golden opportunity. Our Government must bestir itself and devise means for their education. A small proportion of their hut and horse tax ought at least to go to their civilization, they ought to be taught trades more extensively than hitherto, and this work ought not to be left solely to isolated missionary institutions which are struggling hard against debt. It ought to be the business of our official functionaries to identify themselves with the land and the people amongst whom their lot has been cast, and devise a more thorough system of instruction.

Here are a people capable yet of being exalted; surely it is not too late to establish a system of education, the Government going hand in hand with the missionaries in this great work, lest, if we leave matters as they are, the fair fame of our mother country be tarnished—lest by our sloth and indifference future historians record it to our everlasting shame, That we accelerated the ruin and utter extinction of the people whom we found the owners of the country which we now claim to be a province of that mighty Empire on which the sun never sets.

**Appendix E:**  
The Soga Family Register



This Register is in the possession of Hector Soga, Rev Soga's great grandchild.



# Appendix F:

Soga's Baptism Register Mitchell Library Glasgow Register of Births and BaptismsCH3/806/12: 94

Year	Month	Day	Year	Month	Day	Child's Name	Parents' Names	Mother's Name	Godparents or Baptismal Names	Signature
1847	Decr	19	1848	Feb	13	Stewart, Mary	Robert Stewart	Janet Hamilton		
1848	Feb	13		Jan	12	Robertson, David	James Robertson	James Cameron		
	"	13		Jan	14	Roberts, Wm John	John Rogers	Mary McArthur		
	"	27		Jan	11	McLennan, Isabella	Robert McLennan	Call. Thompson		
	"	27		Feb	4	McC, Robert L.	James Wre	Beth. Thompson		
	"	"		Feb	2	Donaldson, Rebecca	Andrew Donaldson	Janet Cunningham		
	March	5		"	10	Edwards, Robert	Francis Edwards	Agnes Laird		
	"	"		"	3	McArthur, Eliza	Peter McArthur	Eliza Anderson		
	"	12		"	4	Jameson, Mary	Robert Jameson	Anna Dickson		
	"	19		"	25	McCrae, Joseph	Joseph McCrae	Call. Dickson		
	"	"		"	23	McWhirley, Wm J.	Robert McWhirley	Mary Lizzat		
	"	"		"	24	Gregg, William	Wm Gregg	Enth. Brewster		
	March	16		March	31	Kay, Joanna	John Kay	John Kay		
	"	9		April	2	Allen, John	Robert Allen	Eliza McArthur		
	Feb	29		"	"	McNair, Jeanie	James McNair	Mary Brooks		
	March	11		"	"	Buddell, James	John Buddell	Marian Riddle		
	Feb	29		"	"	McArthur, John	Wm McArthur	Agnes Ferguson		
	"	27		"	"	Wilson, Sarah	Charles Wilson	Agnes Hunter		
	March	15		"	"	Bald, Alice, H.	Robert H. Bald	Mary Keall		
	Feb	27		"	16	Edison, Eliza, Ann	James Edison	Marian Riddle		
1846	April	13		"	"	Allen, Mary	Stephen Allen	Eliza Hunter		
1848	April	3		30	"	Macdon, Mary	John Macdon	John Forsyth		
"	"	4		"	"	King, John	John King	Mary Kerr		
*	April	18		May	7	St. Soga *				
	April	25		"	14	Paterson, John H.	William Paterson	Anna Mathew		
	22			"	21	Kay, Agnes	David Kay	Anna McArthur		
	16			"	28	Paterson, Mary	Wm Paterson	Mary Duncan		

## Appendix G:

Rev Soga spells his name 'Tiyo'.

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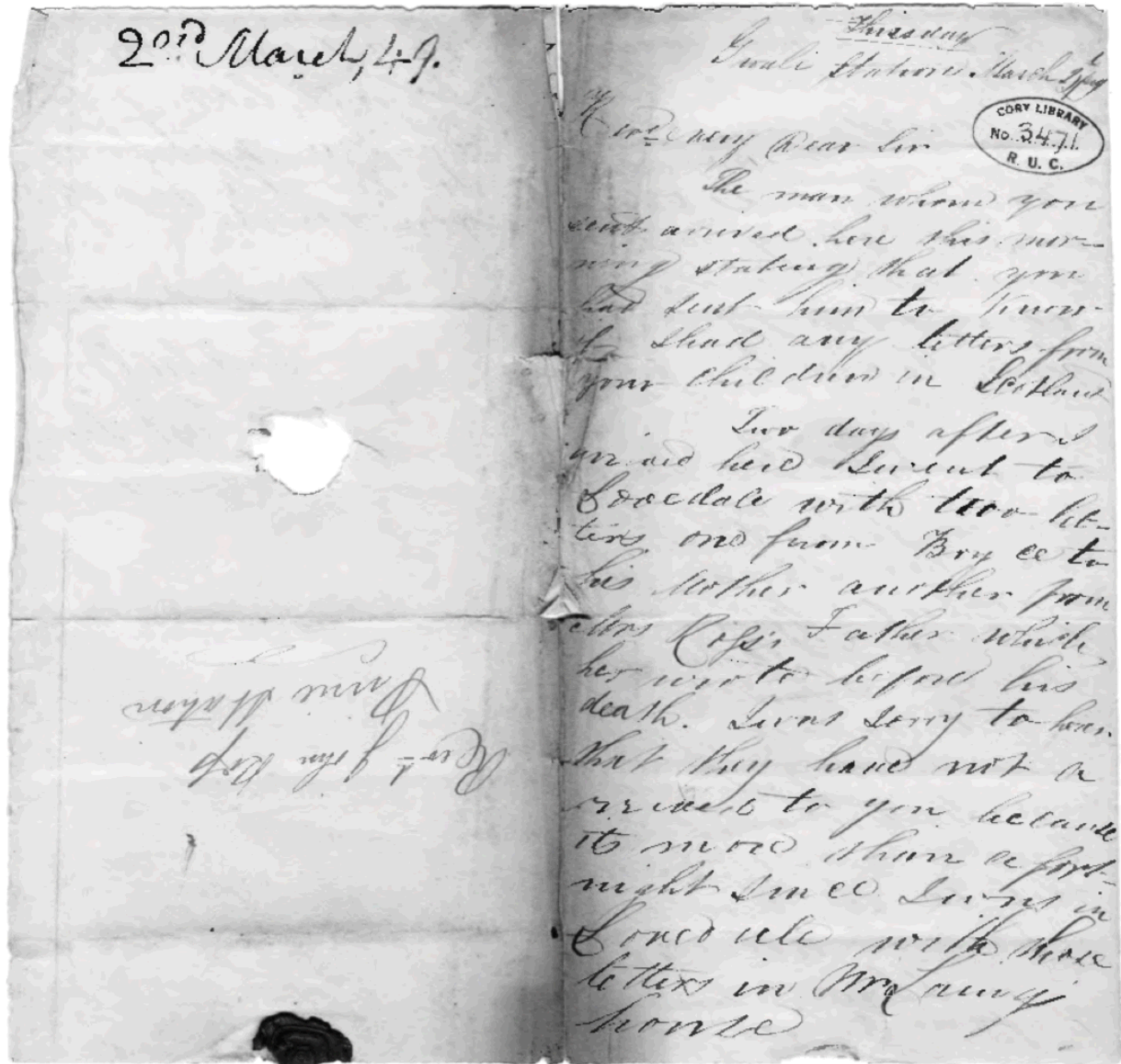
Chalmers, J.A. 1877; 1878. Tiyo Soga: A Page of South African Mission Work. Frontispiece.

Cousins, Rev. H.T., PHD 1899. From Kafir Kraal to Pulpit: The Story of Tiyo Soga – First Ordained Preacher of the Kafir Race Facing frontispiece.



Appendix H (i):

Letter from Soga to Richard Ross, 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1849. Held at Cory Library, MS 3471.



What I have now - especially Mrs. Dagg  
rather what is in Mrs. Chalmers' house is the  
few small boxes from to be able to pay  
your friends & small parcels along with them  
they were waiting for  
up and so I have  
them down to you

I am Revd. Warden

Yours truly

J. D. S. S. S.

Dear Sir I wish  
to remember your two  
boys in love to their father  
& mother. I have seen  
Margaret & Helen at Mr.  
Hutchinson's & I told them  
likewise I was with Richard  
in Kilmarnock a few days  
before I left just by the  
time I was at the  
Bye & accompanied  
me to the Culivay  
Station till I started  
I have seen many  
of your friends

Appendix H (ii)

Letter from Tiyo Soga to John Ross 11 March 1859. Held at Cory Library, MS 10663.

MS. 10663, 663  
 Cory Library  
 No. 10, 663  
 R. U.  
 Deposited - Nov 11-1859  
 My dear Ross -  
 I herewith forward to you three  
 documents, relating to our happy trip - The  
 first contains the H.P. by way of original  
 contribution - Take your pruning knife to  
 them - get them neatly with the offering  
 of my hair!! - These H.P. have included  
 - under the subjects to which they belong - in the  
second document - entitled - "Collection of H.P."  
 In this document have collected  
 all all deceivable H.P. in the United States  
Collection in the F. C. C. & in the  
N. L. or Melayan Collection - above the  
third document - contains prepared readings  
corrected & improvements - of H.P. collected - in

worthy to be placed in the Cory Library  
 - Superintendent & Collection of Native Talents  
 & Contributions!! -



perusing this document. You must refer to that the funds in care date, including your  
of "Collection of the" in order to see these things - probably, in which I include one from a  
which I have corrected - and then I suspect - and with that regards to  
which I have not been - I have been there  
very poor - You had also been decided.

Enclosed

You see the collection, from which I have been  
taken - I have you may not have it. I send  
my copy of the L. P. C. - I have done with it you  
will kindly return it -

My dear Mrs.

New York

Lyc. Oper

I spoke that about the Berlin Library  
Collection - I have only got one out of it, & it is a  
fine one, which is a copy of one of the  
things - though it is better than the one I have  
my anticipated hope to it -

New York

date

I think we shall push on to get  
the L. P. C. in a printable form - I have  
to forward you some with a list of subjects upon which I have done of  
for future things -

I remember me to all  
just here is not one that you would find

Appendix H (iii)

Letter from Tiyo Soga to Bryce Ross 26<sup>th</sup> January 1870. Held at Cory Library, MS 9206

9206

Somerville, Scotland. 26<sup>th</sup> January 1870.

My dear Ross.

Though I had had time, I would not have gone on principle to this dinner of Mr Brown, to be given on the terms of Mr Bennie's letter to you.

It seems to me that they are doing all they can to dim the lustre of Mr Brown's name in connection with that Seminary. By what right they stake it upon themselves to misapply such a Sacred Trust <sup>as that</sup> of a scholarship in honour of a great & good man, I do not know, & we have a right to know. I consented to the admission of other parties in order to get enough money for a large scholarship, now they propose to fitter the money away. Mr Brown is he in need of a large or a fourth of a large small at the best? The largest scholarship in that Institution, should be the one connected with the Founder of it. So far as I am concerned, I wash myself of all these Stewart-Bennie-Brown managements.

We leave this next Sunday with the big boys, when we shall bring your coat & other effects.

We thank God with you, on behalf your new born daughter, & on behalf of Mrs Ross. May

they continue both to do well. I send you your  
former quarterly - the others will come with  
the next.

Am

My dear Brew.

Handwritten signature: *James M. Smith*

Dr. J. L. W.

P.S. I shall reply to Mr. Beecher, when he  
get his communications, & he shall get something  
to write about. As this Educational  
Meeting of the Society - must not if it were our  
money in however a narrow measure.

P.S.

... and ...

*For consideration with the Department of Agriculture*

spirit is of great importance to the value in the market.

...the ...

*[Faint handwritten notes at the bottom of the page]*

Handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.

with the other specimens are the same, and the same

the four are the same as the four in the first group.

1871

*[Faint handwritten notes at the bottom of the page]*

1891

and, placed up, and then took part in

and have been for 15 years. I have been for 15 years.

\_\_\_\_\_



Letter from Tiyo Soga to Bryce Ross 26<sup>th</sup> June 1870. Held at Cory Library, MS 10661.

291

intended the first will know as a Sexo  
Amfingo. Ida either of the two

2. The ingutuma - (sparrow) which they  
know is that which they call - ipinyane.  
It answers to the description of the Sparrow  
to its habits. Let us prefer this word to  
the other, which really is not after the author's  
fashion of calling birds.

3 - The following are my own - ch IX - 16 - Bawamigile -  
Bad readers may give it a badly signification -  
Let us take - Bawamigile

ch IX 10. inguzile - This word will  
need to be discussed by the conference - It does  
not - like the Greek word imply reclining at  
meals - It simply means - sitting at table -  
a convenient position - Let us have - phela -  
phela. Verse 38. place an aspirate over the  
t of the first word.

ch XVI 27 unkela - Say unkelala

4.  
ch XXIII - 25 - The Rabbis say - See deen, will  
not do - It is the broken shell of an earthen  
pot. Not in any sense an idol - No  
European states could have been rightly called  
See deen - unless those that are not  
whole.

ch XXVII - 23 - Kwamongo - is not better  
than Rwasondle - or Rwasondle.

More in facts, but truly  
Sey Loga

Rud. B. Ross }  
Prid

## Appendix I:

Professor Donovan Williams' email correspondence with me regarding the translation of articles from Indaba for The Journal and Selected Writings of The Reverend Tiyo Soga (1983).

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03/11/2010

Joanne,

[...]

Basic to an understanding of my editing of the Journal, and including translations of the articles in Indaba, is the fact that the work owes so much to Black African friends and colleagues, most of whom were associated with the University College of Fort Hare, as it was known then. All of them were respected scholars and freely gave of their time and knowledge to help me make the world of The Rev Tiyo Soga more widely known. And they did so because of their respect and veneration for him.

Accordingly, in the "Thanks and Acknowledgements" in my edited book, there is mention of five Black African members of staff of Fort Hare, who were authorities on the Xhosa language and culture, and who enthusiastically and freely offered their services to me by assisting with the transcription of the original Journal and Letterbook. They all threw their authoritative weight behind "translation and elucidation", as I put it. This was done at Fort Hare itself under the guidance of Mr E.M. Makhanya, Deputy Librarian of the Howard Pim Library, and with his permission and encouragement. To the best of my knowledge, none of this group of dedicated scholars are still alive or even on the staff of "The Fort" as the students called it. The Deputy Librarian left for his native homeland many years ago. These scholars had the final word in versions of the Journal and Letterbook as they appear in the edited book. I never sought to check their rendering, simply accepting that they were scholars in their own right. They may have discussed their work among themselves. I cannot recall. But I remember us sitting in conclave from time to time.

With respect to the translations of articles from Indaba by the Rev. J.J. R. Jolobe which appear in the edited book, one should perhaps be aware that he, too, was a greatly respected Xhosa scholar and poet [...]. I have the original documents of his translations which he gave to me for publication and which I have acknowledged in my book. They are probably buried somewhere among my

numerous large boxes of personal papers. The Rev. Jolobe is now long deceased. Therefore I am the custodian of his translations. I have acknowledged his contribution to my edited book, for which he was solely responsible.

As with the work done for my edited book by the five other Africans mentioned above, I never questioned what Rev. Jolobe gave me for inclusion therein, as I relied on his wide expertise and versatility in the Xhosa language. I therefore never presumed to question his translations, much less his choice of inclusion or exclusion of some of Tiyo Soga's original writings in my edited book, if indeed he did so. Since he alone could have answered your questions, you may have to make educated guesses at what he intended, and simply say so in the relevant portion of your research and presentation.

[...]

Most sincerely,

Donovan Williams.

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22/11/2010

Dear Joanne,

I have eventually unearthed the box of my personal papers containing the original papers of the Rev. J.J R. Jolobe which were passed on to me, and which were used to include his translations in my volume of the edited writings of the Rev. Tiyo Soga. All the articles in this file are on typed foolscap paper, some already fading and the paper deteriorating somewhat.

First: with regard to the article "The Death of Namba, son of Maqoma." This article was not translated by the Rev. Jolobe, but translated by Mr D. Zama Gebede of the University College of Fort Hare. (See my comment in my edited *Journal and Selected Writings*, p. 150, where this is mentioned). But unfortunately there is no copy of Gebede's translation of this article in my file of the Rev. Jolobe's translations. However, on the back of the second typed page (p. 2) of "Christians and Chiefs "( Indaba, June 1964) I wrote the following: "Vol.1. No. 2., Sept. 1862. pp. 22-27 ZIVELA KUBABALELANI [.? Caps as indicated.] Ukububa kuka - Namba umfo ka-Maqoma. 'The death of Namba, son of Maqoma.' [This appears in the edited book p.153 as "The Death of Namba. Son of Maqoma. Ukububa kuka Namba umfo ka-Maqoma." ] Clearly, there must have

been a copy of a translation by Mr Gebede among the typed translations by the Rev. Jolobe which went to print, and which I wrongly identified but corrected in my introduction to the printed section on the translated articles (p. 150). I cannot recall how or why Mr Gebede was chosen to translate the article in question. He was clearly most competent to do so and must have had the blessing of the Rev. Jolobe. All the other typed articles in this file have my handwritten identifying comments on the reverse of a page. So there must have been an original copy of Gebede's translation in the Jolobe file and I simply don't know why I identified the second typed page of "Christians and Chiefs" as belonging the missing article on "The Death of Namba." To However, the original scholar who worked on this section for the edited book simply ignored my mistake as a *lapsus calami*. Everything else is in order.

[...]

Second: There is a short, separate prefatory note in the file in the Rev. Jolobe's handwriting which says: "Essays by Tiyo Soga originally published in a newspaper called 'Indaba' (The News) which came out of the Lovedale Publishing House in August 1862 . It ceased to appear in 1865. Rev. W. B. Bennie included these in his anthology of outstanding Xhosa writings called 'Imibengo.' These have been translated from these versions into English". [End of note.] This anthology might be helpful.

Third: You say that the article "Loans and debts "appears anonymously." I put brackets around the title in the original, typed, translated document in the Jolobe file and made a note saying: "Jolobe's title for letter which has none. Indaba, No. 17, Vol. 1. Dec. 1863, pp. 257-259." This appears in the printed version of the selected writings. On p. 3 of this translated article the Rev. Jolobe wrote in his hand: "Originally published in Indaba under the pen-name of Unojiba waseluhlangeni. This and the seven essays which follow." Thus there must have been eight articles, including Mr Gebede's translation, in the file at this stage of the proceedings.

[...]

Yours most sincerely,

Donovan Williams.



## Appendix J:

Correspondence surrounding the translation of the Bible into Xhosa

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BSA/E3/1/4/0

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE INWARDS NO.0 1858 and 1859

Letter from the Revd. J.W. Appleyard to the Secretary [of the Bible Society]

Mount Coke, Caffraria, April 9

Recd. June 2 1859

Page 121 - 123

As we have just finished another part of our complete edition of the Kafir Old Testament, copies of which will be forwarded by the first opportunity. I deem it right to inform the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society of the fact as also to report on the present state of our proceedings and prospects.

In my letter of June last, I mentioned that I was engaged in the Translation of Ezekiel, and a careful revision of the first editions of Lamentations, Daniel and the Minor Prophets. These several books form the part just completed, and constitute the Second Part of Volume2. Three parts have therefore now been published. The fourth, and last part, namely the Second Part of Vol I is now in the Press, and contains so far as already printed Judges, Ruth and the two Books of Samuel. The books of Kings and Chronicles accordingly are all that remain to be printed. The first sheet of the former is ready for the press, and will be proceeded with immediately. The Translation of the Kings has fallen into my hands, notwithstanding the arrangement made with the Revd. H.H. Dugmore and the Revd. T. Soga, of which I informed you in my last communication. The former was prevented by ill-health, and the latter by want of time in consequence of engagements incidental to the formation of a new Nation.

This translation however is the last, and will probably be not far from completion when this reaches you. The Chronicles are already in print, and will only require revision for the present edition, as in the case of all the other books which had been previously printed.

You are already aware, I believe, that most if not all of the books comprised in this second part of Vol I now in the press as well as Joshua in the First Part, were translated many years ago by the Rev. W.B. Boyce and others. Their translations however were not printed at the time, and subsequently became lost or burnt. The latter seems the most probable solution of their fate, as the Mission House in which Mr Boyce had lived, and in which they were most likely to have been deposited, was unfortunately destroyed by fire soon after he left the country. Since I have had anything to do with translating the Kafir Scriptures I have often regretted that I made no effort to avail myself of Mr. Boyce's proposal to hand over to me his Translation of the historical Books, as that would have been at least the means of their preservation. Two or three other translations by later hands are still in existence but have not been printed.

But to return to the present translation of the Kings, though this has in part yet to be done, I believe that the whole work will be completed three or four months within the time which I calculated upon in my letter previously referred to. Judging from the rate of progress during the last 18 months or so, there can be little doubt that with the blessing and help of God, the Kafir Bible will be complete in one uniform edition by September or October of the present year. At that period we shall have 500 complete copies of the Old Testament in two Volumes, 500 copies of the Second Part of Vol I, but few if any of the First part, as 400 of these are already disposed of, and probably between 200 and 300 of the two parts of Vol. 2. This of course will be but a small supply, whilst the price is necessarily higher than is desirable. If this could be lowered, the sale of the whole would be effected in a very short period. But this cannot be done without further assistance. Both printing and binding are very expensive in this country, the present edition consists of 1000 copies, half of which in accordance with what I have just said, will be sold in parts, and half in Volumes. The printing independently of the paper supplied by the Bible Society costs us at the rate of one penny per single sheet whilst the binding of each Part or Volume costs us from 2/ to 2/6. Accordingly the first volume which will consist of about 800 pages cannot be sold for less than 7/, and the second Volume which consists of 655 pages, for less than 6/, thus making the cost of each copy of the Old testament 13/ of which about 5/ will be for binding alone. In Parts the price will be still higher, on account of the additional binding. If the Committee could make us a grant of £125, so as to enable us to reduce the 500 copies of the complete Old testament to 8/ it would be conferring a great boon on our native Christians, and afford no small encouragement and assistance to the Kafir Mission in general. This however would bring about another difficulty for we should soon have no Old Testaments to sell. Under any circumstances, I think this is likely to be the case, before another edition can be prepared and printed in England. To this subject therefore, I would beg to call the

attention of the Committee as it is very desirable that no delay take place in the execution of that long-desired undertaking. In my letter of this date to our General Secretaries, I shall state my readiness to come home at the beginning of next year should my life be spared to render the necessary aid towards its accomplishment. No pains have been spared to make the present Version as perfect as possible at the time of translating or revising the several books. There are improvements however in the use of a few words, and in the rendering of some passages, which an increased Knowledge and experience would enable me to make, in passing the work through the press a second time. By the period mentioned, also, I hope to have my revision of the new Testament ready or nearly so, as well as that of the other Missionaries, to whom we sent interleaved copies in June last, with the request that they would complete their labours by the end of the present year.

It has suggested itself to me, that probably the Committee would like to have some information on the mode in which my Translations and revision have been conducted. I add a few remarks therefore on this subject. My plan has been simply this. The original with the English and Dutch authorized version have been always before me, and as a general rule, each verse has been read in all three. Other English translations have also been consulted together with what their authors have had to say, where they chose to depart from our Authorized Version.

This latter I have followed as my standard or rule of rendering though occasionally I have preferred the rendering of the Dutch, and in a few rare cases, that of some of the later English translators just referred to, so far as the meaning of particular words and phrases are concerned, and when no violence was done to the Received Text. To this in one form or another, I have endeavoured uniformly to adhere. Then as to the Kafir in order to ensure as much correctness in this as possible all my translations have been usually read over, sheet by sheet, previous to their going to press, with an intelligent native Teacher, and in most instances I have gained something by so doing, though at the cost of much time consumed in questioning and the like.

We are now anxiously expecting to hear of the completion of the new edition of the Kafir New Testament, about which you wrote to me in March of last year. I am frequently receiving orders for the New Testament, but it is now nearly a year since we had any to supply. We shall dispose of a large number as soon as they arrive if the price be anything like what we anticipate.

With fervent wishes for the continued success and prosperity of the British and Foreign Bible Society and sincere thanks for all past favors (sic) to our Kafir Mission-

Signed

John W. Appleyard

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BSA/E3/1/4/0

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE INWARDS NO.0 1858 and 1859

Letter from the Revd. J.W. Appleyard to the Rev. J.B.Bergne Caffraria July 13 1859

Recd Sept. 2 1859

Pp160-161

I write briefly by this mail to inform you that the translation of the Kafir Scriptures is at length completed. On the 24<sup>th</sup> last, I brought this work by the blessing of God to conclusion. The whole Kafir Bible has now been printed at our press in one form or another, several portions of it more than once. The uniform edition of the Old Testament only requires some four or five sheets for its completion, having already revised, and printed two sheets of the "Chronicles" since finishing the translation of the "Kings". In a few weeks more, therefore, I hope to be able to inform you that this edition has been completed, and with that work, I suppose our labours in printing the Scriptures will terminate, as I trust the Committee will be prepared to print us an edition of the entire Bible as soon as possible, and thus obviate the necessity of our continuing to publish detached portions of Scripture out here where book work is so expensive.

I do not know whether the attention of the Bible Society has ever been directed by any of its translators to some errors in the printing of our Authorized English Version which might be corrected in new editions. I refer to errors of the Press, and not to those of the translators, such as are evidently typographical ones, originally misprints and since overlooked. I have noticed some in various parts of the Old Testament, not very many however in the whole. As a specimen, I send you the following list of those which I have observed in translating the "Kings," and revising the "chronicles" as far as the 20<sup>th</sup> chapter of the first book.

[List not included]

In all the above instances, the Dutch Version is printed correctly. I have observed a few misprints however, in this, which do not occur in the English Version. In one text viz 2 Kings 20, 13, both

version appear to be at fault, the latter printing in *Italic*, and the former omitting the word ‘all ‘ before “the house of his armour”

I was glad to receive intelligence of the Kafir New Testaments. The vessel by which they were sent is daily expected in Algoa Bay. I shall write to Mr. Knowoeke in due time as to their disposal.

Signed

John W Appleyard

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BSA/E3/1/4/0

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE INWARDS NO.0 1858 and 1859

Extract of a letter from the Revd. George Morgan to Mr H. Knolleke Cape Town

Sept 17 1859

Pp202-3

[...]

I presume that Mr Appleyard will seek to obtain the opinion of the most competent Kafir scholars belonging to the several missionary societies, before he prints his translation of the whole bible. Considering the sums that have already been voted by the B A& F Bible Society for printing Kafir Scriptures, its friends and supporters in this country will regard with peculiar interest whatever may be done in this matter. There can be no doubt that a really good translation is much wanted.”

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BSA/E3/1/4/0

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE INWARDS NO.0 1858 and 1859

Extract of a Letter from the Rev. J.W. Appleyard to Mr H. Knolleke

Mount Coke, Sept 8 1859

Received Oct 27 1859

Pp204-205

The Kafir Version of Holy Scripture has just been completed at the mission Press in British Kaffraria. Various portions both of the Old and New Testaments were published by missionaries of various denominations in the earlier years of the Kafir mission. The first complete edition of the New Testament issued from the above press in February 1846. the second complete edition considerably revised was commenced in March 1853, and was finished in October of the following year. Soon afterwards, namely in December 1854, the first complete edition of the Old Testament, uniform with the preceding second edition of the New Testament was begun, and on the first of September 1859 the whole was finished. During the same period also, several separate Books of the

old Testament Scripture were published for immediate use. The expense of all this printing, and of the Binding connected therewith, has been very great, and accordingly many years ago the British And Foreign Bible Society assisted the Wesleyan Missionary Society by a grant of £1000, and afterwards by a further grant of 400 reams of printing paper, and again just recently by a grant of £125 towards defraying the expense of binding the Old testament lately issued. Altogether about 6000 copies of the Gospels, and 5000 of the remaining books of the New Testament have been printed at different times besides 4500 copies of the Psalms, and 2000 of the other Books of the Old Testament, with the exception of those which have been printed for the first time in the edition now published which consists of 1000 copies.

Both the editions of the New Testament as well as all previously published separate portions, have been out of print for some time. Another edition being urgently called for; the British and Foreign Bible Society have issued one of 6000 copies at their sole charge in England, and have recently dispatched them to the Wesleyan Mission printing establishment in British Kaffraria, and to various Auxiliaries in the Cape Colony at Natal. This will render great and timely assistance to the Kafir and Fingoe Missions of those communities, and reduce the price of that portion of God's word to less than half of that at which it has formerly been sold.

All the earlier printed portions of the New Testament have also been long out of print. Of those which have been printed more lately, many are nearly so. Half of the present edition of the Old Testament having been issued in parts as completed, a considerable number of these has been disposed of whilst the remainder has still been passing through the press. In all probability therefore this edition will be entirely exhausted in the course of two or three years, and indeed will only continue for this short period in consequence of the necessarily high price at which it has to be sold –

Extract ends here

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BSA/E3/1/4/0

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE INWARDS NO.0 1858 and 1859

Extract of a letter from the Revd. J.W. Appleyard to the Rev. J.B. Bergne

Mount Coke, Sept 8 1859

Received Oct 27

Pp206-7

As a supplement to my two former communications of this year, I have now the pleasure of informing you that the Kafir Old Testament has been completed in two volumes uniform in all respect with the second complete edition of the Kafir New Testament which preceded it. On the first instant the last sheet left the press, and several copies of the last part as well as of the two volumes will be out of our Binder's hands in two or three days. Some of these shall be forwarded to your Society by the first favourable opportunity. Meanwhile as a Book postage has recently been established between England and the Cape colony, I will send you a copy of the part just completed, and of each of the two volumes to accompany this letter as I hope to have the favour of getting them franked to Cape Town by the Kindness of a friend in Office.

We have now printed two complete editions of the new Testament, and one complete edition of the new Testament at our Mission press in this country, besides separate books of both to a large extent. The second edition of the New Testament and the present edition of the Old Testament have occupied the principal part of our time during the last six years and a half. The printing of the New Testament was commenced on March 15<sup>th</sup> 1853, and finished on October 28<sup>th</sup> 1854, occupying therefore rather more than year and a half, during which period it received an extensive though not a thorough revision as you have already been informed. The printing of the Old Testament began on the 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1854 and was completed on the 1<sup>st</sup> September 1859. Thus occupying nearly four years and three quarters during which period every Book has been translated, or if previously extant in a printed form or supplied in manuscript by other hands, carefully revised, and in some instances re-translated.

With God's blessing and help, I now intend to turn my attention to a more thorough revision of the New testament. With five years additional experience, I shall have an advantage which I did not possess at the time of the former revision. I shall probably re-write the whole before it goes to press; Again, as judging from what I have already done, this will be the safer plan for the printer. This is partly owing to the peculiar characteristics of Kafir orthography, the changes of a single word often affecting a whole series of words in a sentence, and thus give in the appearance of a much more extended alteration in revision than is really the case.

Since I last wrote to you the long lost manuscripts containing the Rev. W.B. Boyce's translations of the Historical Books of Scripture and which I feared had been burnt have come to light. From information lately received from Revd. W. Shaw, they have been discovered amongst a mass of letters and papers, the accumulation apparently of years which were put aside on his departure from

the country, without any accurate Knowledge of their nature or contents. I hope to get them into my possession on my next visit to the colony, and will take some opportunity of comparing them with the same books as now printed.

I have observed a few more typographical errors in our Authorized English version, whilst revising the remainder of the Chronicles, since my last communication. In the Bible Society's editions of the Dutch Version, I have detected an omission of a whole clause from the 18<sup>th</sup> verse of the 28<sup>th</sup> chapter, of the second Book which does not occur so far as I am aware in other editions. The clause is "en Timma en hare onderhoorige plaasen" which should come in before 'en Grinzo' etc.

Signed

John W. Appleyard

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BSA/E3/1/4/4

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE INWARDS NO. 4

Letter from the Rev. Dr Gould to the Rev J. H. Bergne

Received April 12 1866

Edinboro, April 11 66

P184

I write you more in private confidence than officially. There will be brought before our Committee here on Monday a statement of the necessity for taking action in order to procure an improved Caffre Version. It seems that at a Conference at the Cape, Appleyard's Version was unanimously condemned as "ridiculously defective."

Were this true, we have no alteration, but seriously to consider the matter. This communication as proof, that we would earnestly avoid interference with you in the least degree.

It may be that you see no difficulty in the matter, and that if the application were transferred to you, your Committee would at once rectify the errors and institute a complete revision to satisfy the critics at the Cape. Or possibly looking at your relations to the Wesleyan body, you may be glad to be relieved of all difficulties by allowing us quickly to meet the demand made on us. I cannot anticipate what course the matter may take. Dr Duff is to lay before us the communication from the Cape. It is with his perfect concurrence, I drop you this note, as equally with myself he has no wish to interfere with any of your fields, and if you can suggest any way of avoiding collision, I shall be



glad to hear from you before Monday. I may say to you that all I can see is, that the case against your Version seems strong. The authorities against it are represented as the strongest that can be cited---

Signed: Mr. A Gould

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EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE INWARDS NO. 4

Letter from the Rev. L. Gould to the Rev. J. B. Bergne

Edinburgh, April 20 1866

Pp190-191

I read your note to our Committee and mean to ask permission to transmit to you our whole minute on the subject after it has been confirmed.

In substance we confine ourselves to enquiry, and commit ourselves to nothing beyond it. The Conference consisted of various Missionaries belonging the United Presbyterian Church, the Free Church and the LMS. The Authorities who condemn the version are such as Mr Bryce, Ross, Mr Chalmers and others, represented to us as undoubtedly the best Kafer scholars to be found. We have transmitted a list of queries to them and among them is one asking why they have not applied to you. You will see from the Minutes that we shrink from any interference with your fields of work. We came to no decision but go simply into the enquiry.

Signed: W. H. Gould

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BSA/E3/1/4/4

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE INWARDS NO. 4

Letter from the Rev. J.W. Appleyard to the Rev. J. B. Bergne

Cape of Good Hope July 2, 1866

Pp229-234.

Yours of April 26<sup>th</sup>, last came to hand too late for reply by the June homeward mail, as this had already left the remote end of the colony a day or two previously to its reaching me. I feel obliged to you for the information you give me in reference to the proposal of some Missionaries assembled

in Cape Town on a recent occasion to try and induce the National Bible Society of Scotland to undertake the printing of a new translation of the Scriptures into the Kafir language, on the professed ground that mine is ‘scandalously defective.’ Though previously unaware of any such Meeting having taken place In Cape TOWN, or of any such proposal having been made, I was not altogether surprised to hear of either. You may perhaps remember that just before leaving England, I requested you to give me the opportunity of replying to any critical remarks, which might be made on my translation, before you arrived at any conclusive judgment on the matters referred to. I had then a strong suspicion that it would meet with some opposition from a certain party out here, as I had been informed that at one of the Meetings held occasionally by the Scotch Missionaries at Lovedale, a paper was read, containing some rather severe remarks in condemnation of our previous Version, which were of course useless in themselves, as I was already engaged on another in England, & which met at the time with the disapprobation of some who were present.

It is difficult to understand why a few Missionaries in cape Town should consider it to be a part of their duty to summarily condemn a translation, with which they themselves have no practical acquaintance, and concerning which they can only receive any information from communications of Missionaries on the frontier either orally or by letter. But however desirous such missionaries may be of seconding the efforts of a particular mission, I cannot but think that in this case, they have acted in a manner which is neither just to themselves nor to the translator. I certainly expected that any complaints which might be made would be sent to your Society, under whose auspices, and at whose expense to a very large extent the Kafir Scriptures have hitherto been published. Why this common act of courtesy should have been omitted and an application privately made to another Society, it is hard to surmise. I should however hope that the National Bible Society of Scotland will pause before they embark in a serial undertaking, which will involve a considerable expenditure of money, and be confined it its range of usefulness to a very limited number of people. The stations where the proposed new translation would be introduced are chiefly within the radius of comparatively a few miles, whilst our own Stations, and other which would still adhere to our Version, extend from Algoa Bay to Natal, and far inland in various directions, embracing the greater portion of the Kafir speaking tribes both in and beyond the Cape Colony.

It would have been only fair I think to the translator of the British & Foreign Bible Society’s edition, if the parties concerned had given him the opportunity of Knowing what portion so fo his translation were deemed to be “ridiculously defective.” It is possible that he might then have been able to show that such a description of his work could not be sustained. I have no idea that my

translation is perfect, or that it cannot be improved in some particular passages. That it contains any ridiculous defects however, is so contrary to the testimony which I have previously received, as well as my own judgment in the matter, I that I shall not believe that they exist, till I see them pointed out and proved by examples. Such defects as there are, may be remedied as far as possible in succeeding editions. It would seem to be supposed that the translator considers his work finally accomplished but this is a mistake. Very few days have passed, since my return from England in which I have not done something in the way of endeavouring to make the translation a more faithful and exact representation of the original, in less as well as more important matters....

I have already gone through several books of the New Testament, and noted some places which I think may be improved, when I can secure the regular attendance of a few qualified natives to read with me. As yet, however I have not discovered any very serious mistakes, though I have found a few passages in which the form of explanation may be slightly varied, so as to give the sense more forcibly, and some others in which more specific words may be substituted for the more generic words which I was occasionally obliged to use in England, from hesitancy in reference to the precise meaning or bearing of the former. But all this amounts to nothing more than what is applicable in a greater or less degree to nearly every version now extant in any language, which contains a translation of the Holy Scriptures. It seem surprising that the generally acknowledged fact here alluded to should be overlooked, and that the Kafir Version should be expected in the first years of its existence to be almost or quite free from the consequences of human fallibility and infirmity. Whether the proposed new translation would be freer on the whole from these consequences than mine cannot at present be determined. I have no reason however to suppose that it would. A great many specimens of the mode of translation, which would be adopted are to be found scattered in various publications issued by the complaining parties. It would be easy to point out not a few of these, which as translations of the original are very loosely and even incorrectly rendered. For the present purpose however, it may be better that you should have the opinion of others, rather than have to rely upon mine own exclusively, however well supported it might appear to be by examples. I enclose therefore a note, which I have received from the Rev. R. Lamplough the Superintendent minister of one of the largest Kafir & Fingoe Stations in the country which will sufficiently explain itself. I am not aware what chapter of the Bible was selected by the native preacher referred to. He was left at perfect liberty in the matter, and gave his opinion in his own style, without any suggestions from his own minister.

I also enclose a letter which I received some months ago from the chief Kama....

Letter included here from 1866:

Letter from the Rev. R. Lamplough to the Rev. J.W. Appleyard

Anshaw, Aug 17 1866

At your request, I have desired Charles Pamla to read over a chapter from the present translation of the Kafir Scriptures, and compare it with the English in order to ascertain whether the Kafir is a faithful rendering of the English. The following is the substance of his reply. "I have read a Chapter in the Kafir Bible, and compared it with the English very carefully, and find that the two fully agree – so that there is not a single mistake, I would not fear to read this chapter, before the best Kafir translators, for no one who understands both Kafir and English would be able to find out a mistake.

"I invited three of my friends to read over a chapter out of the Kafir Bible, and I afterwards talked with them about the present Kafir translation, and we all agreed, that with the exception of a few mistakes which do not affect the sense, this translation is quite correct.

"Not long ago, I was talking to a native man, who reads Kafir & English well, and who has been Interpreter and Schoolmaster for many years, and he said, this new translation is the best we have ever had. So far as we natives of Anshaw have anything to say on the subject, we are quite satisfied, and do not desire any other translation. We found some faults with the former translation, because it expresses the meaning in some places rather loosely. Some people in translating into Kafir, employ English and improper words that are in common use amongst the heathen, but such as I should be sorry to employ myself. Knowing them to be bad. In this new translation of the Bible, the best words in Kafir and Fingoe are employed to express the meaning. W. Shaw Kama says that he and some other natives used to read a Kafir publication called the 'Indabu' [sic] published at Lovedale, they found in this publication some very low, bad and foolish words such as the heathen use in talking amongst themselves, and which he says, would be considered disgraceful amongst the natives.

Such is the testimony of some of our best and most intelligent Natives respecting the new translation of the Bible into Kafir, I may just say that for [word illegible] and good sense, as well as for thorough acquaintance with the Scriptures in English and Kafir, I do not know a native man equal to Charles Pamla, and what he says on this or any other subject, he says conscientiously. He is a candidate for the Wesleyan ministry, and has passed a very good examination before our District Meeting in Graham's Town. I am sorry that I cannot offer an opinion myself respecting the merits of your translation as my Knowledge of Kafir is, I am sorry to say very limited but I shall be

most happy to furnish you with the opinions of those in the neighbourhood capable of judging, and from what I can learn, their testimony would be much to the same effect as Charles Pamlas.

Signed: Robert Lamplough.

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BSA/E3/1/4/4

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE INWARDS NO. 4

Letter from the Rev. J.W. Appleyard to the Rev. J.B.Bergne

Cape of Good Hope

Aug 8 66

Pp253-259.

As bearing upon the subject of my communication for last Mail, I now forward you some rather lengthy extracts from a letter which I have received from the Rev. W. Sargeant our Missionary at Heald Town, near Fort Beaufort. A day or two after I wrote to you, the Scottish Missionaries held a meeting at King William's Town, to which they had invited some others belonging to the London and German Societies. I happened to ride into King William's Town on some other business on the very day, but as I had received no invitation, and had not even heard that such a meeting was likely to take place, I did not feel at liberty to attend, lest my presence, should prove unacceptable. From one of the German brethren, whom I met at our mission House, I heard that there was to be some talk about the present Kafir translation during the afternoon sitting. He had expected to see me at the Meeting, and expressed his surprise, when informed that I had received no invitation, intimating at the same time, that he should take an opportunity of enquiring into the reason. This I was afterwards informed he did, and not receiving any satisfactory reply left the meeting.

Very little appears to have been done, however, beyond repeating the opinion which had been previously expressed, and appointing another meeting in September, where I suppose they will endeavour to bring forward some plan of action. Mr Sargeant was spending a few days in King William's Town at the time and heard more of the Meeting, and its special object than I did, as he had the opportunity of conversing with one of the ministers present on the occasion. He seems to have been struck with the apparent exclusiveness and unfairness of the whole proceeding, and on his return home wrote to me about it. The following is a copy of his letter, with the abbreviation or omission of a few unessential facts to bring it within a reasonable compass.

Healdtown July 20 1866

Rev. J.W. Appleyard

Dear Brother

Having been credibly informed that a few Missionaries of another Society are taking active measures to induce the Scottish Bible Society to undertake the printing of a new translation of the Kafir Scriptures, and in such a way as to ignore what has recently been done by yourself through the generous aid of the British and Foreign Bible Society, I have deemed it proper to address a few lines to you respecting the present translation.

I have not as yet had time, or opportunity minutely and critically to examine the whole of the present translation, nor do I believe that any other man in the Mission work, has at present been able to go through the Kafir Bible with anything like the care requisite to pronounce dogmatically upon it. Yet this much I may say, that I have gone carefully, & I think critically through many parts, especially the Gospel of St. Matthew, reading it verse by verse, in company with several Natives, some of whom understand the English & Dutch in addition to their own language. I have solicited their opinion upon the construction of every verse, and upon the meaning of every separate word, as we have proceeded, seeing if they could render it more idiomatically or intelligibly, by reconstructing the sentence, or altering the phraseology, or substituting another word consulting the Original myself at the same time. I have kept a sheet of paper by my side, noting down every thing which they could suggest as an improvement. The result has been.

1. In a very few instances they have recommended the reconstruction of the sentence, so as to make it somewhat more idiomatic.
2. In a few more instances they have recommended the substitution of another word for the one employed. All these I have noted down as emendations, and will forward them to you at some subsequent period. But they are nearly all of comparatively small importance, and do not materially affect the meaning of the Inspired Writer, and many are such as the best Kafir scholars would differ about.
3. Several portions which at first sight, I felt disposed to draw my pen through, I have, on careful comparison with the Greek been led to admire, believing that, in some few instances, you have seized upon and expressed the mind of the Inspired writer with even yet greater force than our Authorized Version itself.
4. Some few typographical errors have got in, but these have nothing to do with the translation. I am now going through the "Acts of the Apostles" in the same way reading it critically in company with eight or ten native preachers, soliciting and encouraging any remarks they have to offer upon the present translation. When I have done all I can in this way, and have again carefully compared

any emendations with the Original, I will send them to you with my own remarks, for you to make any use of them you like in a subsequent edition of the Kafir scriptures. The idea of an entirely new translation of the Kafir Scriptures, is in my estimation preposterous and unnecessary. And should it be printed, and published, it is doubtful whether it would be any improvement, or whether it would not be open to the same or even graver objections, especially should the proposed orthography be adopted, for that would render it positively useless beyond the voices of a few Mission Stations to which that very objectionable orthography is I believe confined. I decidedly think that the Scottish Bible Society will do well to pause, before it commits itself to any such work. I would say that in justice to yourself, and the British and Foreign Bible Society, the managers of the Scottish Bible Society are bound to demand of those who would ignore or summarily repudiate, the present translation, that they point out in an honest and manly way, what are the “ridiculous defects” of which they complain. This they have not yet done, but only hinted that such things exist. At least I have only heard of one such supposed error, and that at second hand through an esteemed brother minister of another denomination, who does not pretend to understand a word of Kafir himself. It was mentioned to me by way of illustration of the incorrectness of the present translation that in Psalm 68.11 you had introduced the word abafazi women, though not found either in the Hebrew or the English ‘abafazi abashumayelayo – indaba bangumkosi omkulu’ the women who publish the tidings are a great company.” I asked my friend for a Kafir Bible, but he had none. When I got home, I examined my own, and there was the word plain enough. I looked into our Authorized Version, but there was no such word there. Not trusting my own limited Knowledge of Hebrew, I consulted the Commentary of Dr.A. Clarke, and there I read “Lammebasseroth baba rab” of the female preachers there was a great host.” It is to be hoped for the credit of the gentlemen who advocate a new translation that this is not a fair specimen of their criticisms of the one which they condemn.

I am aware that some would recommend a ‘freer’ and what they would designate a ‘more idiomatic translation.’ And this might perhaps be tolerated, were it any other book than the Bible. But what some call a “free and more idiomatic” translation would when critically examined, turn out to be no translation at all, but a mere paraphrase. A paraphrase will often render the meaning of the Inspired Writer more intelligible to a general audience, but any paraphrastic renderings of the Holy Scriptures belong rather to the preacher than to the translator. No doubt the present translation may be somewhat improved, and no one will be more ready to concede this, or more diligent in effecting such improvement, than yourself.

And if I might suggest anything, it would be not that there should be a new translation, but that all the Missionaries of whatever denomination, understanding the Kafir language, and possessing adequate critical Knowledge should be solicited to go very carefully through the present translation, and mark down every sentence and word they would recommend to be altered and forward their emendations and criticisms to yourself, to make what use of them you may deem proper, in carrying a new edition through the press.

Signed: W. Sargeant.

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I may just add that W. Sargeant has been preaching in the Kafir language during the last 15 years, and had some acquaintance with it for ten years previously. His opinion, therefore, on the matter to which he refers in his letter, is entitled to some respect and consideration. With regard to the passage in the Psalms, which has been so carelessly adduced as a proof of the deficiencies of my translation, it is only necessary for me to remark that we have no other way of expressing a Hebrew feminine participle with the article, except in some such way as that adopted in the verse complained of. In Kafir we have no grammatical distinctions of gender. The same pronoun for instance, may represent masculine, feminine and neuter nouns. Hence, in order to be correct in translation it is sometimes necessary to supply a word indicative of the distinction of sex, where in another language, a mere change of form is sufficient. Females are certainly expressed in the Hebrew word, and if we look into an English Version and read the following verse, we shall find that they are there also at least by implication.

M. Sargeant's proposal is by no means a new one. Years ago I sent out interleaved copies of the New Testament to several Missionaries, including those who are now complaining about the present translation, but only in one or two instances was anything done, and even in these to a very limited extent, I might say more on this subject, but at present I forbear. Complaints however come with a very ill grace from those who have often been requested to render assistance, but have declined to do so. The reason is now obvious. They have had a version of their own in contemplation, and almost as soon as the present translation appears, and long before they have had time to examine it as a whole, they pronounce it to be "ridiculously defective" and "unsatisfactory" with the object of inducing another Society to print one of their own, which in all probability, would be more mine than theirs after all. Meanwhile I have been steadily pursuing the work of revision, and shall still continue, with God's blessing and help to do so, I shall enlist the services of others also in the same good work.



Signed: John W. Appleyard.

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Pp2-3

### The Kaffir Bible

A meeting of missionaries of several denominations was held on the 4th ult., to receive the various answers to the circular which appeared in our columns regarding the present translation of the Scriptures into the Kaffir language. A large number of letters were received and extracts read from them, from which it appeared there was but one opinion, that the present translation is a most imperfect one. It was then unanimously resolved that all the answers be printed, and that copies be sent to the B. and F. Bible Society, to the Rev. Dr. Duff, and to all missionaries labouring amongst Kafir congregations in this country. It was further resolved to ask the B. and F. Bible Society, to assist in the publication of a new translation which it is proposed should be the work of competent persons of various denominations, and if aid is refused, to request the Rev. Dr. Duff to at once lay the matter before the National Bible Society of Scotland, giving him full power to act for the conference of missionaries in this country. When we state that we are informed that the papers read, condemning the present translation, were from such men as the Revs. Messrs. Dohne, of Natla, Greenstock, Waters, Rein, Harman, Birt, Brockway, Ross, Soga, Laing, Chalmers, Maggs, and Charles Brownlee, Esq., it must be evident that this present edition is sadly defective, and that the sooner a proper translation of the word of God is placed in the hands of the natives the better. Every one spoke of the many anxious days as well as the labour it must have cost Mr. Appleyard to translate the word of God, at the same time stating that it was altogether too great an undertaking for one man, and he a foreigner, ever to attempt the translation single handed; that the original proposal which was made when it was intended to translate the Bible into the Kafir language, ought to have been carried out---which proposal is to be found in the published correspondence between Mr. Morgan, of Cape Town, and the various missionaries, that the translation should be the work of more than one individual.

With reference to the above proceeding, the rev. Mr. Appleyard has addressed letters to the public press complaining of the unfair and uncourteous treatment of the missionaries towards him, in not inviting him to be present at their deliberations. With reference to the alleged imperfections in the present translation, Mr. Appleyard thus writes:-

“I had no intention when I left for England at the call of the Secretaries of our Society, of going through the labours of retranslation. I was not sent for to translate, but to carry through the press the just completed translation, the work of many years and many hands, and to make such revisions as I might deem to be necessary. No reasonable person, however, will blame me for exceeding the requirements of those under whose direction I was employed, when they knew that my main object was to make the present Kaffir



me about the efforts of the Scotch Missionaries to induce the National Bible Society of Scotland to undertake the printing of a new Kafir translation of the Scriptures, as they were not satisfied with mine. As he had given you the same information which he sent to me, there is no [word illegible] of my entering into particulars. You will observe, however, that the complainants give no examples by way of proving the correctness of their opinion. This is just the course which they pursued with reference to form a translations. Their habit is to insinuate and condemn, but not to prove. Yet they know very well that no one would be better pleased than myself to have any error pointed out, or any improvement suggested. But they have always declined to do so and the reason is now obvious. They have had a version of their own in contemplation, and no sooner does mine appear, than they forced to pronounce it defective and unsatisfactory, in order to prepare the way for an application to another Society to undertake the printing of theirs. I should hope, however, that the Scottish bible Society will demand something in the shape of proof, and not be satisfied with these one-sided opinions. It is easy to find fault, but not so easy to emend. Hence the complainants should be required not only to prove the existence of error or efecit [sic] by particular examples, but also to give their own emendation of these as well, in order that others may have the opportunity of forming a fair judgement upon the matter. As they have hitherto brought forward nothing but their own opinion to support their case, there was no other course open to me but to follow their example and send home [word illegible] opinion.

I have written to Mr Impey in reference to our Printing Department, and sent him a list of articles which are absolutely necessary to re-establish us on a respectable footing, and to enable me to engage in such literary undertakings as are now more than ever especially desirable. For want of good type and cons

Letter continues

Appleyard

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MMS/Correspondence/South Africa/Grahamstown/FBN

Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society South Africa Correspondence Bechuana 1874-67 5

Slide 180

Mount Coke, King William's Town Cape of Good Hope, 20<sup>th</sup> – 24<sup>th</sup> December [1866]

The Secretary of W. Missionary

My Rev and dear sir

Some two months ago it was resolved at a meeting convened by the Scotch Missionaries at King William's Town, to print a pamphlet containing the opinions and criticisms which they had collected against the present Kafir translation of the Scriptures and send it to the British and Foreign Bible Society at home, and to every Missionary concerned in the country. One of my Brethren, being in Alice about a month since, called to inquire about it, and was informed that it would not be ready for two or three weeks, I supposed, therefore, that it will be just about ready to home by this mail, and that I shall thus have no opportunity of accompanying it with any remarks of my own. Not having seen any of the evidence which the pamphlet contains, it would be premature to venture any opinion on the character. My principal object in writing now is to keep you informed of the progress of events in connection with the controversy in the Kafir Bible, originated by the Scotch Missionaries, whose design evidently is, if possible, to set the present version aside, and to substitute another in its place. Most other missionaries, I believe, would be satisfied with such a revision as I have always myself anticipated, and been preparing for. By the last mail I sent no [word illegible] copies of some correspondence which has appeared in the local papers since their last meeting. From the communications to which I replied, it appears that they leave to the Bible Society to call for much contra evidence as we may be able to produce. The coconut which is given of the meeting itself in one of the articles would seem to imply that they were yet intending to from their application to the National Bible Society of Scotland, through the influence of Dr Duff, in case the Decision of the B. & F. Bible Society should not accord with their wish. As soon as the pamphlet is published here, I dare say some public action will be taken upon it by those amongst ourselves and others who are not disposed to go to the same length of condemnation as the Scotch Missionaries. I have very little doubt that many of those who have sent in unfavourable opinions have done so in ignorance of the real design of those who issued the circular of inquirer, and would hesitate to endorse the decision which it is their wish to obtain. This however can only be ascertained by the proceedings which may arise on the appearance of the promised pamphlet, a copy of when, I suppose, they will forward to you, as well as to the Bible Society. Meanwhile I hope you will co-operate with the Bible Society in preventing the Kafir version from passing out of their and our hands. If Dr Duff and the Scotch Bible Society were made acquainted with the true character of our proceedings from the beginning, and freed from the impressions which the misrepresentations of certain parties, both in reference to the Bible Society and ourselves, must have produced on their minds, I have very little fear that they would consent either to put our

version entirely aside, or to set up a rival one by its side. All of us agree that some revision is necessary, and the same will no doubt be said of the next edition, however carefully it may have been revised. As to the plan for carrying out this revision I think that a working committee composed of one member of each mission in addition to myself would be amply sufficient. Each revising member would of course be expected to obtain all the aid he could from the other members of the same mission, and in this way all would have the opportunity of co-operating in the work: Interleaved copies might also be sent out to competent persons, and ultimately returned for the use of the said Committee. Perhaps, it would be well for the Bible Society to authorize in some way or other the initiation of some [word illegible] plan of alteration as here suggested, after they have heard both sides of the question in the present controversy.

I dare say you will hear from some other hand of the lamented death of our young brother Hiller

Letter continues one page

I am

Rev and dear sir

Yours faithfully

John W Appleyard

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BSA/E3/1/4/7

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE INWARDS NO. 7

Extract of a Letter from the Revd. J.W. Appleyard to the Rev. J.B.Bergne

Mount Coke August 27, 1869

Recd October 11, 1869

Pp71-72

It seems a long time since I had the pleasure of writing to you personally. No doubt you are acquainted with all that has transpired in connection with the Kafir Bible through my communications to Mr. Findlestone. You are aware therefore of the formation of a Board of Revisors. We have had two sessions, one of April last of two weeks, and the other in July of over three weeks, when we completed St. Matthew. We are to sit again in November, and hope to get through St. Mark. Several members of our Board seem anxious to have the version of Matthew finished, and to send it forth by way of experiment to give us the opportunity of ascertaining how far some of the changes made may be acceptable, or otherwise to those who are capable of judging

in the matter. I cannot say that I approve of all the alterations made by the majority, and hence I should like to have the opinion of Missionaries + well qualified natives upon them, before their final adoption by the Board.

As a Board we have no means to enable us to print and publish for ourselves, nor do I think that it is at all desirable, that we should involve ourselves in pecuniary responsibility. Probably however our Society would sanction the printing and binding of such portions of Scripture, as the Board might with from time to time to have published, at our Printing Establishment here, at just about the cost price. The sale of separate portions of Scripture would be limited, and would not perhaps cover much more than half the cost price if any were to be given away and the rest sold cheaply. My present object in writing therefore, is to ascertain whether our Mission press here could hope for any assistance from the Bible Society supposing that we undertake to publish for the Board, so as at least to prevent our Society suffering loss on that account. To put the matter into a tangible shape. I dare say, if we were to print and bind 1000 copies of Matthew, it would require a grant probably of £15.0.0 to enable us to distribute 200 copies gratuitously for purposes of revision and to sell the rest at about 6d each. Could such a grant be made to us? If you Kindly give us your opinion on the above matters by return of first Mail Steamer, I should feel much obliged.

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BSA/E3/1/4/4

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE INWARDS NO. 4

Letter from the Rev. Dr. Gould to the Rev. J. B. Bergne

Edinburgh, Oct 29

Pp 276-277.

Many thanks for a sight of the documents from Mr. Appleyard. Dr. Duff to whom I had sent them under the seal of the same confidence with which they had been transmitted to me, has just called. He requests another sight of them and bids me say that one of the places at which he intended to call in London was your office, when he was seized with the attack which sent him home in haste by a night train, he is considerably better. My only fear is that you suppose us more committed than we actually are, at least to judge from the references of Mr Appleyard to us. We shall do nothing without conferring with you, and you will get the benefit of all the information that reaches us. You may be surprised when I state that the Missionaries in Caffraria, so far from holding us committed to them have not made up their minds yet, whether they should not go directly to you, after the

evidence is collected, which in their judgment will be overwhelming and decisive. Looking carefully into the documents you have been so kind as to send me, I cannot help thinking that they rather awaken an unfavourable impression about the revisor (sic). The question about Ps 68 11 could have been settled purely by a mere tyro in Hebrew, and did not need to be sustained by a reference to Adam Clarke, and is far from being a sample of the objections urged. It would be well for all the parties to Keep their minds unbiassed (sic). Meanwhile the grand object is to see that we can get the Kafirs the best version possible, and most assuredly we shall avoid to the utmost the collision with you. All that we are doing at present should only strengthen your hands one way or another. The documents will be returned immediately. Mr Glowan is to be here on Monday and I should like him to glance over them . signed: W. Gould.

P.S. We have had some information by private letters to Dr. Duff. The promised collection of documents and evidence has not yet reached us from the Committee appointed in Caffraria to prepare it.

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BSA/E3/1/4/6

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE INWARDS NO. 6

Letter from the Rev. J.W. Appleyard to the Rev. J. B. Berghne

February 12<sup>th</sup> recd. March 26, 1868

Pp10- 13

I enclose a copy of a Resolution which was passed at our Lake District Meeting in reference to my reply to the Lovedale Pamphlet, though I dare say you will also receive one from our General Secretaries in accordance with the request of the closing paragraph. I also send herewith two of the King William papers containing a Review of the said publication and likewise a Graham's Town Paper containing, an account of the proceedings of another Conference held recently in King William's Town so far as they referred to any "Reply" and some remarks thereupon by the Editor in his leading article. To this Conference I received the usual circular of invitation, but as I could not attend, even had I been disposed to do so, and fearing that some present might suppose that my absence was intended as an intentional slight, I wrote to the Secretary to assure him that I had no other than friendly feelings towards all the brethren, but that my future proceedings would be determined by such directions or advices as might be received from the Bible Societies, to whom

the matters between us had now been referred for decision. You will see that the Conference hardly Knew what to do with my “reply”, but it seems they eventually delegated it to a Committee to answer it or not as they might judge best. With regard to the remarks of the Several Speakers, they contain nothing but what has already been sufficiently answered in my “Reply.” There is nothing new in them whatever but a mere reiteration of what has been said before in one form or another. It is evident however that such conferences as these will never advance the work of revision. A small working Committee would be much better. All might be invited to send in any remarks or revisions which they felt disposed to make to this Committee, and so far have a voice in the matter. It is likely that we shall require another edition of the New Testament some time before the stock of Bibles is exhausted. It has struck me whether it not be advisable for us to print this out here and let the sheets as printed be subject to the revision of the proposed Committee, some general revision having previously taken place to prevent unnecessary delay. Probably however some plan of action has already been thought of by the Editorial Committee, and I need not remark further on the subject at present.

In conclusion I give you an extract from a letter which I received some time back from one of our German brethren. He tells me that he has written in his Journal as follows.

“I have seen Mr. Appleyard’s “Apology for the Kafir Bible”, and I am glad that he could defend himself so well. I rejoice for two reasons. First, Mr. Appleyard’s answer breathes no spirit of bitterness towards those by whom, he and his work of translation was quickly judged. Secondly, Mr Appleyard’s reply contains many very good lessons to these fellow-labourers who seemed to have forgotten what St. James says, “Be swift to hear, slow to speak (and of course still more slow to judge).”

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Copy of a Minute passed at the Annual meeting of the Grahamstown district held at Graham’s Town, January (?) (Jany) 15<sup>th</sup> 1868

The Meeting desires to place upon record, its high appreciation and approval of Brother J.W. Appleyard’s very able and valuable pamphlet entitled “An Apology for the Kafir Bible” written in answer to certain letters of the Missionaries of the Scotch Churches and others, whereby, discredit was attempted to be thrown on Brother Appleyard’s Version of the Kafir scriptures.



The perusal of Brother Appleyard's pamphlet by the Brethren constituting the Meeting, and further acquaintance with his version, have confirmed and strengthened the opinion expressed by them in their Meeting of January 1867, viz

“That the Brethren have confidence in Bro Appleyard's Version, as giving a fair rendering of the original Scriptures with the Kafir tongue, and thus furnishing a good foundation for those emendations and corrections, which must be inevitably required in an early translation of the Scriptures into any language.”

And further, they are convinced that no new translation into Kafir from the original Scriptures is needed, and that any expense incurred in printing such a translation would be an unnecessary expenditure of money.

The Meeting is of opinion that some plan might be beneficially adopted, whereby Missionaries labouring in South Africa and other competent persons may be enabled to amend and improve the existing Version, and that such emendations, as they might suggest should be referred to a revising Committee, with the view of deciding upon the desirableness or otherwise of their adoption, previous to the printing of another edition of the Kafir Scriptures.

The Meeting respectfully requests the Missionary Committee to forward a copy of this Minute to the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London.

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BSA/E3/1/4/6

CORRESPONDENCE INWARDS NO. 6

Letter from the Revd. J.L. Döhne to the Revd. J.B.Bergne Wartbrug S. Africa April 6.

Recd June 8 1868

Pp 54-56

May I beg leave to address you again on the subject of translating the Zulu Bibles, as I did last year. When your Kind answer reached me, the correspondence respecting a united translation, had been carried on between the respective American Missionaries at Natal and myself, and when our Mission Director Dr Vangemann, whom we expected had arrived and heard of the steps taken by me towards that object, he fully approved thereof, and before he left, we went together to the

Chairman of the American Committee for Translation in order to come to a perfect understanding and settlement of that case.

[...]

Generally speaking, every Missionary becomes best acquainted with the peculiarities of that tribe among which he is stationed, but hence it is, that he usually must forego the opportunity of becoming acquainted with many others, yea, may never have any for conversing with real Zulu natives and remain a stranger to the Knowledge of dialects. It even is the case, that Missionaries thus situated, do not think it very important to trouble themselves with that subject, as others do who Know better from experience. The fate of the Kafir Bible of the Amaxosa tribe shows plainly what a difficult language the Kafir is for a foreigner, as to acquire its true idiom and understand the meaning of every word employed in a translation. Yet the isiXosa is but one dialect – and the difficulty increases in proportion to the number of tribes as we have to deal with at natal. Many will be astonished at my statement of having spent 9 months on the translation of the Epistle of the Romans into Zulu. But they who cannot comprehend that show but too clearly, that they know little of the case referred to. A conscientious translator cannot like such superficial views, as other are accustomed to. As a natural consequence we have Sometimes 4 – 6 words before us, apparently all of the same meaning and the Missionary who has not acquired a good Knowledge of dialectic differences, uses them indiscriminately. But there he runs a fearful risk sometimes! In one aspect it is true that there are many different words (according to the tribes) for one and the same thing, and can be used without trouble. But what I am speaking of refers to mistakes, made by those who are inefficient men. It is also true that the natives can give, and sometimes does give, a very good idea on a word or phrase, yet it is for us to find out the precise meaning of his words is in our own language, for this he cannot Know. There is the most desperate conflict one may imagine. Now the way for finding the true meaning of the language of the native is a very laborious one, it leads directly to the most rigid analysis of every radical letter in the word, then to the radical meaning of all equivocals (as for instance banda, bendi, bbinda, bonda, bunda, which is to spread, and then cognates, as bata, beta, which also is to spread, the first being the real local meaning, that of the second imaginary then to define the meaning of every stem, then to compare with the different tribes or cognate languages. That is a long way, and I should Know it as little as the rest Know it, if my former labour of compiling a dictionary had not forced me to enter upon it. But it is the only way possible to arrive at the true sense of the language, and one must have courage and perseverance or he will make a mess of it. I will illustrate this with a few examples.

Continue re Zulu translations to p60.

Your honourable Committee will of course recollect from the statement of Dr Wangemann, Director of the Berlin Mission when he visited London, that the funds of their Society did not admit of the prosecution of the work of translation, on their own cast, as was contemplated at first, when I was appointed exclusively for the same. From reasons that pertain to the extension of their Mission work it was found even difficult to pay me the usual salary for a Missionary of £90 and a few £ more for my children, of which I have still 7 at home to be provided for. Dr Wangemann, when here, was so impressed with the importance of the work of translation, and of that my mind ought to be released from the burden of care for my earthly existence, that he proposed and promised to petition your Honourable Committee for aid in my behalf. He also desired that I should do the same, and I now gladly avail myself of this opportunity of laying this document before them, for their favourable consideration.

Signed:

J.L. Döhne

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BSA/E3/1/4/6

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE INWARDS NO. 6

Letter from the Rev. J.W. Appleyard to the Editor and Superintendent Mount Coke, October 9 1868

Recd Nov 21 1868

151-163

On the receipt of your Letter of May 7<sup>th</sup> last, I immediately communicated with the rev. W. Impey, the General Superintendent of our Missions in the District, and recommended that we should at once take action in accordance with your advice. To this he agreed, but suggested that I should first communicate with the Rev. W. Govan of Lovedale on the Subject, and wished me therefore to draw up some plan for the formation of a Board of Revisers, and send it to him with a letter of explanation of our decision. This I accordingly did, embodying my proposed plan in a circular (copy of which is enclosed) and writing to him a letter (copy of which is enclosed) requesting him to join with me in sending out the said circular to the several Heads of Missions for the object stated. From the correspondence which followed, you will see that Mr. Govan did not feel at liberty to join with me on his own responsibility in this matter, and referred it therefore to those, with

whom he had hitherto acted. The result was that most of the brethren thus consulted, wished the matter to be brought before the Committee on the translation of the Kafir Scriptures appointed by the Conference of Various Missionaries held in the early part of the year, and a meeting was accordingly called by the convener, to which myself and two or three others were invited, who had not previously attended it. I enclose a printed circular which gives a statement of the proceedings of this Meeting, though in accordance with a resolution passed, you will receive one officially from the convener on behalf of the Committee. You will be glad to hear that our Meeting was distinguished by great unanimity, and passed off very pleasantly to all. You will observe that the Committee call the proposal, which I made in the first instance in my communication to Mr Govan, the proposal of the Bible Society. This was done, I suppose, on the ground that the Resolutions in regard to the formation of a Board of Revisers were founded on your suggestions, and to this view of the case I made no objection, nor even allusion, feeling satisfied that the Bible Society would sanction this use of their name, though to some extent unauthorized, if it might happily lead to the bringing about of that united action for which they are anxious. You will see, further, that the extracts which I gave from your letter, in the circular which I proposed to send out in conjunction with Mr Govan, were taken over by the Committee as preparatory to the consideration and passing of any Resolutions. These extracts contained all that was necessary to our purpose, and all as I thought, which you would wish to see in print. The Convener would like to have had your letter to place with my correspondence to Mr. Govan amongst the records of the conference. But I do not feel authorized to comply with his request, as the letter was not addressed to the Committee, but to me, and contained some reference to our own Missionary Society, which I conceived you intended for us alone. The matter however was not pressed, but you will understand from what I have said, the reason why your communication to me is called "a private" one.

You will be pleased with the readiness which the brethren displayed in consenting to stay further proceedings in regard to carrying on the controversy. The Committee felt that if answers to my "reply" were published, this would involve a rejoinder from me, and in such circumstances, it would be useless to attempt to form a Board of all denominations. It was agreed therefore to suppress such answers as had been prepared, and to let the controversy take end, and of this fact the Bible Society and myself are to be duly apprized, as an official conclusion of the matter. Copies of the enclosed printed circular have been forwarded by the Convener to the different heads of Missions,, and I hope that the Board of Revisers will be constituted and meet at the time specified. I trust that the course of action which I was led to adopt, after receiving your letter, with the advice and concurrence of our General Superintendent, will meet with the approval of your Committee.

Something was mooted in our meeting, as to what assistance the Bible Society would be prepared to render us in carrying on the work of Revision. I said that I thought that the matter had better be left entirely between the Board, when finally constituted and your Committee, giving it as my opinion at the same time that the Bible Society would print our revised edition of the Kafir Scriptures, but that nothing more ought to be expected. There may arise expenses however, which I do not at present foresee, and towards which the Bible Society may be prepared to render us some assistance if necessary. On these matters the board may probably have something to say at our first meeting and no doubt some one will be appointed to communicate with the Secretaries of your Society in preference thereto.

Thankful to God that the way now seems open for united action in the revision of the Kafir Bible, and grateful to the Bible Society for the Kind consideration, which they have shown to me during the late controversy.

Signed: John. W. Appleyard.

Copy of correspondence in reference to a revision of the Kafir Version of the Bible

Letter from the Rev. J.W. Appleyard to Revd. W. Goavan

Mount Coke, Aug 1, 1868

Rev. Mr Govan

My dear Sir

Having received a letter from the Rev. R.B. Girdlestone conveying the views of the Bt. F. Bible Society in reference to the revision of the present Kafir version of the Scriptures, so far as they have thought proper to express them, and which you will find embodied in the accompanying document, I deem it right to inform you of the fact, and to consult with you on the best mode of procedure in the juncture which has now arrived, and for which, in accordance with what I stated in my answer to the circular of invitation to the Conference of Missionaries in January last, I have been waiting. As our names have probably been the most prominent in connection with the pamphlets, which have been published on the Kafir Bible, it appears to me a desirable and a fitting thing that they should go together in my initiatory effort made to bring about the united action so strongly recommended by the Committee of the Bible Society. From the silence of the Committee on the respective contents of the said pamphlets, and their declining to express any judgment on the various differences of opinion, which they indicated, I think it may be concluded, that they wish us to forget the past, and to act as though the late controversy had never arisen. In such a conclusion, I heartily acquiesce, and shall be glad, therefore to co-operate with yourself and others in

endeavouring to secure what may be considered for some time to come at least a standard Version of the Kafir Scriptures. With this object in view I have drawn up the enclosed paper, containing the outline of a plan, which may form a basis for subsequent action, and which I now send for your friendly consideration, with the hope, that it may either meet with your approval, or otherwise suggest something to your own mind upon which we can cordially agree and act. Now that the Bible Society have said, as I presume they have, all that they desire to say on the subject, there seems to be no necessity for any longer delaying the commencement of such a revision of the kafir Version as I have above alluded to. The plan of operation suggested, is drawn as you will see from the remarks of the Rev. R.B. Girdlestone. I do not conceive however, that we are tied to any particular plan. This matter I think may very properly be referred to the Board of Revisers, when finally constituted, as I have no doubt that the Bible Society would be prepared to sanction any plan, which might be agreed upon, buy such a collective representation of all denominations as the establishment of the said Board would secure. I would suggest that the circular, of which I have enclosed the draft, should be addressed to the Head of each Mission, who will be able to arrange with the Missionaries of his own denomination as to the appointment of a Member of he proposed Board. Should the above meet with your convenience, I am prepared at once to print and address copies accordingly, and beg to be authorized to attach your name to the same.

With sincere respect and friendship

I remain

Signed

J.W. Appleyard.

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Circular alluded to in the above.

Revd...

Dear Sir

A communication having been received from the Rev. R.B. Girdlestone, Superintendent of the Translating and Editorial Department of the B. & F. Bible Society, we beg respectfully, to invite your attention to the following extracts therefrom.

The said communication was addressed to the Revd. J.W. Appleyard. He is informed therein that his "Reply" had been "laid before the Committee of the B & F Bible Society". No comment is made either upon this, or upon the pamphlet which preceded it. The Committee state that they "are

most anxious that any action which is take with regard to the Kafir Version should be united action”, but they “are not in a position to suggest, still less to dictate, any plan of action to be adopted by the various parties concerned.”

Assuming however that there must be a revision, Mr. Girdlestone remarks.

“It must be taken for granted that the present translation is to be the basis of operations and that the object of all parties should be to make the existing work more thoroughly idiomatic, and to purge from it, as far as possible, those defects which must necessarily attach, more or less to a work of the Kind. Supposing that a Board of Revisers were selected from the Various denominations concerned, and that each Reviser secured the assistance of natives, as far as possible, the next step would be to prepare interleaved New Testaments, in which each Reviser should put down the suggestions, and emendations of himself and his friends. When one book was so done, the Revisers might meet and compare notes, so as to see how far unanimous decisions might be secured before going further.”

As all parties concerned are agreed that the present Kafir Version needs some revision, you will probably join with us in the opinion that an effort for the united action of all denominations in that important and necessary work should at once be made. In accordance therefore, with the above remarks of the Rev. R. B. Girdlestone, we would suggest the following plan of action, as the basis for operations.

1. A Board of Revisers to be constituted with as little delay as possible.
2. 158 Such Board to consist of 7 Members, one to be selected from and appointed by each denomination now in the Kafir Mission, namely Church of England, Free Church of Scotland, United Presbyterian Church, the Wesleyan, Lutheran & Moravian churches and the London Missionary Society.
3. The member thus selected and appointed to secure the assistance of other members of the denomination to which he belongs, European or native, and to embody their suggestions, and emendations, with his own at each sitting of the Board.
4. The powers and privileges of the Several members to be equal, and in any cases where entire unanimity of opinion cannot be secured, the matter in debate to be decided by the majority, or by reference to a Referee in whom all have confidence.
5. The Board when constituted to assemble for the purpose of agreeing on the plan of procedure, and to make such arrangements, as may facilitate their common co-operation.
6. Should any Member or members be unavoidably absent from any of the usual Meetings of the Board, four Members at least to be considered necessary in order to form a quorum.

If the plan of action now suggested should meet with your approval, we would respectfully request that you will make such arrangements, as may be necessary for the appointment of one of you own Mission as a Member of the Board, thereby proposed to be constituted.

We remain

And etc etc.

*Alice Auxiliary to the Scottish Bible Society*

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Letter from Revd W. Govan to Revd. J.W. Appleyard

Lovedale August 8<sup>th</sup> 1868

I duly received yours of the 11<sup>th</sup> accompanying Draft of a Circular proposed to be addressed to the Heads of the Several Missions among the Kafir tribes of this country, with reference to a scheme for a united revision of the Kafir Version of the Scriptures. I do not hesitate to say that your communication has afforded me much pleasure, as it opens up the prospect of the breach being healed for which, differing as we do as to the question in dispute, you and I can agree, I doubt not, in expressing our sincere regret.

You will see, however, I am sure, that I cannot with propriety take upon myself to comply with your request, that my name should along with your be subscribed to the proposed circular, until I have first communicated, with those who have acted with me in this matter. I purpose in the beginning of the week to send a special messenger to all, or at least most of these along with a copy of your letter, and of the proposed circular, with a request that they will severally express their views respecting the important subject to which they refer, and make any suggestions that may occur to them. With their concurrence, I shall have much pleasure in being associated with you in this proceeding.

You are perhaps aware that at a Meeting held at King William's Town a few weeks ago, it was resolved that answers by the several authors of the Lovedale Pamphlet to your "Apology" should be published, and that arrangements were made for this purpose. How far these arrangements have been carried out I do not know. While however I cannot take upon myself to speak for the other brethren, I can say for myself and the brethren at Lovedale, that we are willing, nay desirous, that this proceeding should be arrested, and that the controversy should now take end. I need sincerely add, that by this you are not to understand that my view on the subject in dispute has undergone any material change.

With much respect

I am Sir

Signed



W.Govan.

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IV

Letter from Rev. J.W. Appleyard to Revd. W. Govan Mount Coke Aug 17 1868

I write a line or two to acknowledge yours of the 8<sup>th</sup> instant (which only reached me this evening) and to assure you that I heartily join with you, both in regretting that there should ever have been any breach between us, and in hoping that all controversy will now terminate. I have confidence in the brethren that they will share your friendly feelings, and see the propriety of staying the proceedings which you mention as having been agreed upon at the King Williams town Meeting, a few weeks back. Differences of opinion will no doubt exist amongst us more or less, but I feel persuaded that mutual forbearance and Christian love will carry us through all difficulties of this Kind.

With Kindest regards,

I am

& etc

Signed

John W. Appleyard

---

V Letter from the Revd. W. Govan to Rev.d J.W Appleyard

Lovedale Aug 22 1868

My Dear Sir

I have just received answers to the communication that I made to Burnhill, Pirie, Peelton &C, in reference to the revision of the Kafir Scriptures. I had sent copy of your letter to me of the proposed circular, draft of which you sent to me, and also of my note to you; and I requested the Missionaries at the above Stations to express their views on the subject and make any suggestions that might occur to them. I have answers from mess Lain, B Ross, Birt, Krapf, Rein, Hardman, Reichelt, Weiz and elleyer. Mr Lain expresses his joy at the turn that this business has taken. Mr B. Ross suggests that “the whole matter should without delay be laid before the Committee entrusted by the Missionary Conference with the work of getting a translation of the Scriptures into

Kafir.” Mr Birt repeats this suggestion with the addition that you should be invited to attend that Meeting. All that follow adopt Mr. Birt’s suggestion. Some of them express a very decided wish that the controversy should cease, a wish in which I believe the others join, tho’ they have not expressed it. I have myself seen MR Chalmers, who is the Convener of our Committee, and tho’ after conversing with me he expressed his willingness, that I should allow my name to be subscribed to your circular, I think he will fully conceive in Mr Birt’s suggestion. I may add that he has given directions that the printing of our Answers to your “Apology” which had been begun should be stopped. I have also communicated partly direct, and partly through others, with the Transkeian brethren. I have written to Mr Greenstock requesting him to communicate with the Episcopalian brethren and also to Mr Charles Brownlee. But from these last, I have received no answer. In accordance with the suggestion of Mr Birt, I am now sending your communication to me to Mr Chalmers as Convener of the Committee of Conference and have to request that you will correspond with him henceforth in this matter. I trust no time will be lost in getting the Board constituted and put in operations. For myself I have no hesitation in saying, that I fully approve of the constitution of the Board, as embodied in your circular. I have only further to express my high satisfaction at the prospect now opened up of united action in this important matter, and to assure you that it will be my endeavour to forget the unpleasant controversy, which has arisen between us, and which with one of the German brethren, I would willingly see committed to the flames.

Signed

W. Govan

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V – Printed circular – copy enclosed.

[Some alterations were made in the Committee in the form of two or three of the Resolutions as will be seen by comparing them in their present form as printed with the original draft sent to Mr. Govan.]

Letter from the Revd. J.A. Chalmers to Edit. Superintendent

British Kaffraria

Oct 3 1868

As instructed by the Committee on the Translation of the Bible into the Kafir language, I beg leave to send you a printed copy of the minutes of a Meeting held at King William's Town, on the 30<sup>th</sup> [word illegible]. I have to direct your attention to the suppression of a reply to Mr. Alleyard's "Apology" which was in course of publication. This must prove to you that as a Committee, we were not activated by an unfriendly feeling, either against Mr Appleyard, or the Wesleyan denomination in the publication of our pamphlet in condemnation of Mr Appleyard's translation. No sooner is the proposal made by you in a private communication to Mr Appleyard made Known to us that we suppressed our own pamphlet. We suppress it, not because we consider Mr. Appleyard's "Apology" conclusive in its defence of the present Version of the Kafir Bible, but we feel that the object we aimed at, is gained. I may mention, that it is a great stretch of charity, for some of the writers of the final pamphlet to remain silent, after being so roughly and unjustly handled in the "Apology."

Let me direct your attention also to the fact, that the Committee, have taken action, after hearing extracts read from a private communication made by you to Mr. Appleyard, some of the Members of the Committee would have liked to have received an official notification from yourself, but this matter was not pressed, as full particulars may be communicated by you, when you are thus officially informed of the steps taken by the Committee, in receiving the extracts from your letter to Mr. Appleyard.

Signed

John A Chalmers

Convener of the Committee on the Translation of the Bible into the Kafir Language.

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BSA/E3/1/4/7

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE INWARDS NO. 7

Letter from the Rev. J.W. Appleyard to Rev. C. Jackson.

Mount Coke March 26 [1870].

Recd May 16 1870

Pp252-253

Yours of October 22<sup>nd</sup> last came duly to hand, but I have deferred my reply, till I could say something definite in reference to the printing of our tentative edition of the Gospel of St. Matthew. At our Session in November last, I agreed to print and bind 1400 copies at 6d each, on condition that each Society represented took 200 copies. The matter stood over till our last Session, which

closed on the 22<sup>nd</sup> instant, and during which we went through about half the Gospel of St. Luke. In consequence of the generous and opportune grant of £15 from your Committee, I was enabled to make another proposal, which gave great satisfaction to the Board, and removed the difficulty out of the way, with regard to the means of making some provision for free distribution, namely to print the same number of copies for each Society, but to supply 80 of them gratuitously, and so leaving 120 to be paid for at 6d each instead of 200, as originally proposed. This proposal was at once accepted, as our Revision of Matthew will be published as speedily as possible, as a tentative edition for the criticism of all competent parties. The sanction of the Bible Society will give it greater weight in the estimation of the public, than it probably otherwise would have had.

Hitherto we seem to have got on but slowly, in the work of revision. There are many difficulties however in the way of speedier progress. Few of us can give as much time to the work as we ought, and our Meetings accordingly do not occur as often as is desirable. The expenses of some of the Members however in travelling to the place of meeting, and during their stay there, are rather heavy and unless these are paid by the Societies represented, the Members of the Board have to leave them personally, and this will probably occasion some irregularity in attendance.

Signed: J.W. Appleyard.

## Appendix K:

Chalmers, John Aitken. January 1872. 'Tiyo Soga' in *The Cape Monthly Magazine*. 1 - 25. Held at the National Library of South Africa. P.1915.

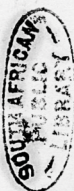
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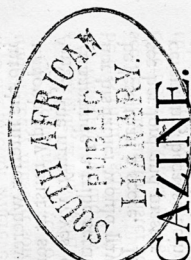
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THE CAPE  
MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

Tiyo Soga.

"Speak of me as I am."—OTHELLO.

In the year 1829 a red line of British soldiers under command, marched up the fertile valleys of the Kat River, burning every village and every hut which came within their reach, driving before them every Kafir inhabitant, until they finally expelled therefrom the chief Makoma and all his barbarous horde. It is a memorable year to the Gaika Kafirs, and they speak of it with a sigh as "the year when Makoma was expelled from the Kat River;" but the why and the wherefore he was expelled remains to them a riddle to this day.

In the same year, and not a day's journey from those scenes of carnage and of plunder, at the peaceful mission station of Chumie, Tiyo Soga, the story of whose life is to be briefly told in the following pages, was born. His father, the son of Jotello, was a counsellor of no mean rank. He owed not a little of his position to his appearance and manner, for he was a tall, sinewy, stern, fierce-looking man, with a wild piercing eye, who spoke at all times with considerable energy and suited the action to the word,—a man, moreover, who could count his wives on the fingers of both hands. He was a keen politician, and openly opposed mission work, because, conservative of heathenish customs, he saw that the Gospel was the axe laid at their root. Nevertheless, he claims the honour of being the first Kafir that whistled between the stilt of a plough; and how he exchanged the sneeze-wood spade for the crooked ploughshare is easily told. He had gone to the British Residency to pay his respects to the Diplomatic Agent by begging a bullock. Captain Stretch gave him, instead, the advice to purchase a plough. It was the advice of a Chief backed up by some powerful reasons which appeared commendable to the counsellor, and the result was that shortly thereafter the son of Jotello returned to Captain Stretch to exhibit a handful of silver which he had earned by the plough he had been induced to purchase.

The family of Soga belongs to the clan *Juagha*. Its ramifications are found among the Fingoes, Zulus, and many other tribes. The fact of being a member of such a clan would be a sufficient passport Vol. IV.—JANUARY, 1872.

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into the interior wherever these *dijjeta membra* were found of what undoubtedly must at some period have been a formidable tribe.

Of the many wives of the son of Jotello, one belonging to the Amantinde, a tribe settled at the Buffalo, was his chief wife. For her his father would pay all the cattle, which at that time would not be less than a score. It is very probable also that the bride would see her lord and master for the first time on the day of the marriage ceremony, because being the principal wife, all the arrangements of the alliance would be completed by the parents on both sides. This wife became the mother of nine children, of which Tiyo was the third youngest.

A singular custom prevails amongst Kafirs at the birth of a child, from which the older missionaries borrowed a word to describe the Christian ordinance of Baptism. The infant is washed twice a day with a decoction from the root and leaves of a plant. Meanwhile a fire is kindled, and incense made from the leaves and twigs of a particular tree. Over this cloud of smoke the child is held until it is thoroughly dry, after which it is bedaubed with pot-clay, or with the pulverized bark of a certain plant, or with a mashed snail. This process is continued for about a fortnight, and is said to possess a medicinal virtue. This, however, is a riddle for obstetricians to solve. Before the mother returns to her daily avocations a bullock is killed. On the day it is slaughtered, every vestige of the meat is placed in the hut in which the infant's voice was first heard; there it is to be inspected by the spirits of the ancestors, so that they may be cognisant of the handsome sacrifice performed. On the following day, neighbours and friends assemble and devour the meat, except one leg, which is the lawful property of the doctor who prescribed to the mother when she was *eniente*. The skull of the sacrificed animal, with its horns, is thereafter suspended to the roof of the hut for several weeks; but in what way the ancestors are propitiated by this act it is difficult to conceive.

Tiyo Soga in his infancy underwent this baptism of smoke,—this baptism into heathenism; a bullock was sacrificed, and the household gods were appeased.

The Chumie, as it existed until 1846, was one of those scenes of which Wordsworth speaks that "connect the landscape with the quiet of the sky." It was a peaceful spot. There was the grand old mountain with its deep and gloomy wood; there was a work of Nature in her majestic playfulness:—the tall indented rock, crowning the lofty height and with the sunshine brightening it, and the clouds and glorified vapour clustering around it, would have stood well for the original of Hawthorne's "Great Stone Face." There were the sounding cataracts from the mountain springs, which became subdued into a "soft murmur" as they watered the plains below. There was the dense forest teeming with birds of every plumage, that kept up a perpetual revelry of song. There were the numerous beasts of prey, which had their lairs high up in the mountain; there

was the large cave, with its fantastic drawings which the self-taught Bushmen have left behind as relics of their love of art—which cave in times of war afforded a sure hiding-place; while nightly the hyena and the wolf howled all around and feasted on the flocks of the people. Not a year passed but we gazed in astonishment on the lifeless body of a dead wolf or tiger, killed by the daring huntsman. There were the neat cottages which the missionaries had assisted those they were civilizing to build; there were the fields and orchard tufts which in summer time were "clad in one green hue;" there was the octagon church at the top of a long avenue, with its clear ringing bell which daily summoned the worshippers to matins,—and that avenue rang every day to the merry shout of children as they came and went from school. Beside the church the clear water from a mountain stream gurgled all the year long; around the church were the orchards belonging to the mission-house, where the bee drank honey from the jasmine, the passion-flower, and the honey-suckle,—where the orange tree hung out its golden fruits, where the banana spread out its glossy leaves, where the almond tree flourished, and the grapes hung in heavy clusters from the vines.

The interior of the church itself on Sundays was inspiring. Some noted characters worshipped there. There was old *Famba*, the "whipper-in," who on Saturdays, mounted on his nag "Centipede," went forth to announce the day of rest to the villagers around, and in church sang the loudest, the heartiest, and the most discordant; there was *Edward Irving*, tall, solemn-faced, with long staff in hand, who marched up and down the aisles, rousing the sleepers who were narcotized by the close atmosphere or the tones of the preacher; there was old *Umbi*, the huntsman, who bore on his neck and head the marks of a fierce encounter with a tiger; there was *Nelaticbo*, the lunatic, who, as the moon became full-orbed, was wont to stand at her hut-door the livelong night and gesticulate and spend her eloquence on the silent, shrinking, unresponsive stars; there was old *Fakella*, the cripple, who on all fours would creep up the aisle and perch herself in moody thought on the pulpit stairs; there was *Sifika*, the sightless, the merry-faced, who all the while as he sat in church rolled his large glazed eye-balls and showed his white teeth, as if well pleased with the dense darkness which enveloped him; there was the crowd of red-painted barbarians, who frequented the church and invariably dressed as if for a dance by command of Tyali the chief, who honoured the missionary more than the Gospel he preached.

Such were some of the scenes which wrought on the youthful imagination of Tiyo Soga, living at his heathen father's kraal, not two miles distant from the mission church. War has made a wilderness of that once lovely spot; the efforts after civilization have been obliterated, and no wonder many of the natives are so difficult to drive from the rude hut to a European dwelling, because war has repeatedly taught them that they are tenants of the soil on sufferance.



The late Rev. William Chalmers, the genial, large-hearted, enthusiastic missionary at the Chumie, was a man singularly devoted to his work. He exerted a hallowed influence over his people, was universally beloved, and his name remains to this day a household word in the tribe for whose advancement morally and religiously he sacrificed his life. Besides his active itinerancy, and sabbath and week-day services,—besides teaching the school himself in his own church, and attending to a small printing press, from which issued school-books, portions of Scripture, as well as a feeble attempt at a newspaper, *The Morning Star*,—he superintended four schools at short distances from his station. One of these was at the large kraal of the counsellor above named, and was taught by Festire, the son of Soga. Tiyo was one of the pupils of his eldest brother. As soon as he had mastered the alphabet, he passed along with three brothers to the care of the missionary, and day after day these four boys in their sheep-skin coverings walked up for instruction to the mission school. Often have I heard Tiyo Soga describe the discomforts of a sheep-skin kaross as unbearable when soaked with rain, as uncomfortable when hard and stiffened, as cold beyond endurance in winter nights when he was rolled up in one well worn and tattered—and how when a boy, as the cold wind blew in by the rents, he used to start up and put together the dying embers until they burst into a flame and thus warmed his shivering body. This lesson, taught by experience, made him in after years generous almost to a fault.

His teacher at once observed that he had under his care a boy of bright talents, and determined to give him every opportunity to receive a higher education. Mr. Chalmers therefore took him in July, 1844, along with another boy, to the Lovedale Seminary; but there were several obstacles to his entrance. By a regulation just passed, pupils from other societies were admitted on payment. However, a Mr. Rodger, uncle of the late W. R. Thomson, M.L.A., offered to pay for two. There were thus two openings, whilst there were several applicants for admission. It was agreed, therefore, that the applicants should undergo an examination,—a poor prospect for Tiyo—for he was much younger than the others and had not received their advantages. When the decisive hour arrived, he stood in tremor before the august examiners. Amongst the various exercises prescribed to him was a simple sum in subtraction. I am not in a position to state what was his difficulty as he stood, slate in hand, gazing in blank dismay at the two rows of figures upon it; suffice it to say he was bewildered,—he could not solve the problem. The Rev. James Laing, full of sympathy for the intelligent, timid boy, volunteered help by suggesting a hint. "Take away the lower line from the upper," said the reverend examiner. Tiyo Soga's face brightened, he eagerly grasped at the suggestion, quickly wetted the thumb of his right hand, and literally solved the whole difficulty by obliterating for ever that lower line of figures which stood on the slate like the second column of a regiment of soldiers. That act sealed his fate; he was rejected;

he had taken the adviser at his word. Some may say it betokened ignorance or thoughtlessness, but it also betokened the simplicity of a child, a feature of character which he carried with him through life.

Tiyo Soga was "plucked." Of the two successful candidates, one belonged to the Chumie, but his career, which quickly came to an end, was unworthy the education he received. The other belonged to the Rev. Henry Calderwood's station, but he wasted his brilliant talents as a detective and policeman; he died a few weeks ago, leaving behind much evil which could not be interred with his bones. Tiyo Soga might have been lost to his country, and we would not now boast of him as a son of the soil had the result of the examination decided his future life. But

"There's a divinity that shapes our ends,  
Rough hew them how we will."

And so it happened in the case of young Tiyo. Mr. Chalmers, convinced that his favourite pupil was a lad of good parts, and unwilling to blight his hopes, at once presented him to the principal of the Lovedale Institution; and thus is Tiyo Soga's name enrolled in that long list of pupils who received their education from the scholarly William Govan.

"One would be led to infer," says the Rev. Bryce Ross, "that Tiyo's failure was owing to inferiority in mental ability. As I was present at the examination, and likewise also taught these youths all the time they were in the Lovedale Seminary, I can without the slightest hesitation state, that the failure was not in the least owing to inferiority of intellect, but solely to Tiyo's not having enjoyed as great advantages at school previous to the examination. I hold decidedly that Tiyo was an apt scholar, that his powers were of a high order, that he had a well-balanced mind, and that he was possessed of popular gifts in an eminent degree. I differ from those who think that his success is owing to his painstaking, which had to overcome a natural dullness. Nothing of the sort! His intellectual powers were of a high order, and his success is to be ascribed to a beautiful harmony between these and moral qualities."

Now began the struggle. Away from the scene of his childhood, with its barbarous sights and sounds; severed from his missionary, who had given him a legacy of parting counsels; the adopted son of a stranger who had words of sympathy and encouragement to offer; at a large academy where the various races, so far as education was concerned, met on common ground, and where a rare spirit of rivalry prevailed; standing the lowest in his class with the sting of his failure secretly impelling to work—he girded himself. With a noble spirit of ambition he crept up slowly, but firmly, until soon he struggled neck and neck with his victor Nyoka from Mr. Calderwood's, until at last he stood dux, but compelled by his rival to stand second only in arithmetic.



One of the text-books in that now famous institution was at that time the much-abused Scottish Assembly's Shorter Catechism; and it is told how on a Saturday morning these boys (white and black) had to repeat *memoriter* the portion they had already mastered, and how Nyoka and Tiyo would repeat one half of that book, proofs and all, without a pause or mistake, and how Nyoka, fretting against the restraint of the dull boys, would give vent to his eagerness in a flood of tears, while Tiyo, calm but yet as eager, reserved his tears for fitter occasions.

Tiyo spent nearly two years of his life at Lovedale, where he acquired studious habits, and where the foundation was laid for his future training. He endeared himself to his teachers and his classmates by his sterling integrity, his docility, and early piety. In March, 1846, the War of the Axe broke out. By command of the Lieutenant-Governor, all the mission stations were abandoned, and the missionaries of the Scottish societies fled to the Kat River for protection. Lovedale was deserted, and the pupils dispersed never to meet again as before within its class-rooms. Tiyo returned to the Chumie, and thence proceeded to the Kat River. An incident mentioned by his illiterate mother shows how eagerly, even at this time, the desire for education was at work within him. Her boy was always absorbed with his books. Day after day she collected splinters, so that after night-fall, in the hut, by the bright fire-light, he might still "speak with his books;" and there he would sit, book in hand, poring over its contents during the still hours of night, whilst his patient mother, weary, anxious, sleepless, wondered what these books had to say to her boy that he must needs speak to them day and night.

The war of 1846 turned out to be a protracted guerrilla warfare; and Mr. Govan having resolved to return to Scotland, took Tiyo with him, and on the 20th July of that year sailed from Port Elizabeth. During the voyage Mr. Govan devoted much time to the further instruction of the Kafr lad. On board the vessel was a young Irish gentleman, painfully deficient in his *understandings*, but amply compensated for his lameness by great volubility. He was returning from the frontier, greatly disgusted, as any one would be at that season of drought, hailing from the Emerald Isle. Brimful of glowing descriptions of his adventures and exploits of the war, he described one day a battle of Sir Andreas Stockenström's party—of which he asserted he was an important member—with a formidable Kafr commando, how the Kafirs had been routed, pursued, and completely discomfited, and how he in the flight had put an end to not a few of them. Tiyo listened quietly to the embellished description of the wholesale destruction of his countrymen, and then inquired if the victors were mounted. "They were on foot," was the reply. "Then not a Kafr did you kill," said Tiyo. The hero of a thousand adventures ceased thereafter to entertain his fellow-passengers with his deeds of valour. The incident is eminently character-

istic of the man, for he never rushed impetuously into argument even with his own countrymen, but watched patiently, and then attacked the weakest point in the statement.

Scotland was reached in October of the same year. His opening mind was ready to receive the novel scenes through which he passed; and the only occasion on which his fellow-travellers observed any astonishment bordering on fear exhibited by the Kafr youth was while travelling by rail and they were suddenly whirled into the dense darkness of a tunnel, Tiyo exclaimed, "Wherever are we going to now!" One thing, however, staggered him beyond description. From the books he had read, and the efforts he had seen put forth for the elevation, moral and spiritual, of his countrymen, he had formed the impression that all people, young and old, in Scotland were pre-eminently good. How different was the reality! He was appalled at the moral degradation he witnessed. The unsophisticated Kafr boy soon had all his visions of goodness scattered to the winds by a painful experience. He was one day playing on his return from school with his companions, and without suspicion laid down his satchel containing all his school-books on a door-step in one of the streets of the city of Glasgow—the city whose motto is "Let Glasgow flourish by the preaching of the Word!" As he laid them down he thought that every one in that city, which had so long enjoyed the advantages of the Gospel, was strictly honest, but when the boyish sports were over and he returned to take up his books, they were gone; and he was wont to tell how by his *gratz* loss he had been thus early taught the lesson that thieving is a vice not peculiar only to his countrymen.

During his sojourn in Scotland, Tiyo—supported by the late John Henderson, of Park, a man of princely fortune and of unparalleled benevolence,—attended school first at Inchinnan for a few months and afterwards in Glasgow, at the Free Church Normal Seminary. He likewise enjoyed the privilege amid the perils of that great city of having as a friend Dr. William Anderson, a man of rare genius, who left his impress on the plastic mind of the Kafr youth.

Tiyo Soga, a solitary Kafr in the Western metropolis of Scotland, felt that "solitude amid a crowd," which Robertson, of Brighton, has so graphically described. As the captive bird beats against the bars of its cage, yearning to be free, so did Tiyo long for the free air of his native hills. Accordingly, when a fitting opportunity presented, after being received into the fellowship of the Christian Church by Dr. Anderson, he returned to South Africa in the end of 1848.

His first friend and missionary, the Rev. W. Chalmers, having died in the beginning of 1847, Tiyo now fell into the hands of one of the most conscientious missionaries that ever lived, the Rev. Robert Niven, who engaged his service in 1849, as a schoolmaster at Uniondale, near what is now Keiskamma Hoek,—a station which had only a beginning and an end, but little between, for the war of 1850 reduced it to a mass of ruins. He had very raw material



to work upon, for his lot was cast among a people to whom education was a riddle, and therefore a thing to be suspected. He was exact and efficient in his duties as a schoolmaster; but he had to contend against a strong feeling excited against him, which soon dispersed a school of seventy children, because he had not undergone the heathen rites initiatory to manhood. The parents affirmed that their children would die, instructed as they were by a "boy," and even dark threats of murder were whispered against him. The recollection of the fearful ordeal through which he had to pass at Uniondale made him in after years one of the strongest opponents to that heathenish custom of circumcision which is the bane of mission work, and he often yearned for a legislative enactment forbidding its performance as the only means by which it could be stamped out for ever.

His school work was varied by occasional itinerancy amongst the numerous heathen population around, either alone or in company with the missionary; and here it was, doubtless, that he first began to learn that wonderful tact in preaching to his countrymen which made him one of the most telling speakers to a native audience. Here, also, he made his first contribution to the "service of song" in his native tongue—the *Kafir Hymn-book* published in 1850 containing several of his songs of praise, he being at that time about twenty years of age.

His sojourn at Uniondale was a time of restless excitement among the *Gaika Kafirs*. The shock of an earthquake, of which the *Kafirs* have a wholesome dread, had been felt; and *Umlanjani*, a wicked impostor, made the phenomenon serve his own ruinous ends, by declaring that it had been caused by his emerging from the vasty deep, after a long period of seclusion following his circumcision. He thus lashed his credulous countrymen into a state of unprecedented excitement; thefts became rife, and *Tiyo* also proved a victim; but the station schoolmaster pursued the even tenor of his life up to that fatal Christmas day in 1850 when the war broke out and so much human life was butchered. On the 25th of December, the Rev. Robert Niven with his family left the station. On their way to the *Chumie* they were plundered, their horses were taken from them, and footsore and weary they trudged over the *Amatola Mountains*. Mr. Niven, barely escaping with his life, was stripped of some of his garments. He has recorded these "perils of a missionary family" in a thrilling narrative, which shows that even men of peace in time of war are not exempted from the grossest indignities. That same night the Chief *Anta*, with a band of warriors, came down upon the station, pillaged it to their hearts' content—went even the length of ripping up with their assegais the family Bible of Mr. Niven, saying, as they did so, "There is the thing Niven always bothers us with;" and ultimately set fire to the thatched-roofed buildings, which fell an easy prey to the flames. And all that remains of that station is a small portion of the stone wall of the church, a melancholy memento to the passers-by of the war of 1850.

Amid this confusion *Tiyo* fled, and as he threaded his way through the dark forest he had several hair-breadth escapes for his life. Having reached the *Chumie*, and being well known as the educated son of an eminent counsellor, the chiefs, *Makomo* being one of the number, frequently sent letters which had been taken from murdered white men for him to read, so that they might know the various movements of the enemy. But he steadfastly refused either to touch or peruse any of them; he studiously abstained from having any part or lot in the struggle. With a noble decision he sent back all these epistles, telling his Chiefs that he dared not act such a mean part. So unbearable did this trial become, that to avoid it he fled to Philipton to join the mission band.

Just at that time it became evident that the shock Mrs. Niven had sustained on that terrible Christmas day was such that a voyage to Europe was absolutely necessary. But how to dispose of *Tiyo* was Mr. Niven's great perplexity. He could not leave him behind lest he should lose all he had gained. There was no opening for him in the Colony, so he resolved to take him with him to Scotland,—C. L. Stretch, Esq., generously contributing to defray the expenses of his voyage home. In June, 1851, this mission party sailed for England. High thoughts were in the *Kafir* youth's soul. He had resolved to try and benefit his countrymen. He was about to make a venture to show the capacity of the *Kafir* mind. Some sneered, others pronounced he would be a failure. Nothing daunted, backed once more by Dr. W. Anderson, who roused the Sunday school children of his church to support the young *Kafir*, he went boldly forward to matriculate himself as an alumnus of the Glasgow University in November of the same year.

As the tidings flashed through the dingy quadrangles of the Glasgow University that a *Kafir* was enrolled as a student, even the undemonstrative Professor of Logic, Robert Buchanan, better known as "Logic Bob," held up his hands in amazement, and exclaimed with comical surprise, "What! one of those barbarians who have been fighting against us!" For the first time a *Kafir* wearing a red toga, the academic garb of the Glasgow University, was seen threading his way through the foggy streets of Glasgow, through the gates of the venerable College in High-street, and into the classrooms.

In those days there appeared to be very little outward sympathy between professors and students in that ancient University,—a wide gulf seemed to exist between teacher and pupil. The great mass of students matriculated, attended daily the various classes, performed the exercises prescribed, underwent the oral examinations, went up at the close of the session for their certificates, and after six months' daily attendance on the prelections of these learned men they knew as much of their professors as they did of *Zachary Boyd*, whose grim bust adorned the archway of the outer gate. There were one or two honourable exceptions, however,—Sir William Thompson being one



of the number,—who sought to bring themselves into close contact with the young men from all parts of the world who attended their lectures. It was under men thus jealous of their dignity that Tiyo Soga passed his academic career. He did not distinguish himself as a prizeman, but discharged with great assiduity and conscientiousness the tasks assigned to him, gained the esteem of his fellow-gownsmen, mingled freely with his class-mates in those sports which made the old College grounds ring again after class hours and on the Saturday half-holiday, was a member of the Liberal Association, and entered with great enthusiasm into the annual political strifes occasioned by the election of Lord Rector.

A scene occurred at one of these elections which showed his power of self-control. There was a fierce struggle between the contending parties for the prominent place in one of the class-rooms where the meeting was being held. The dissipated scion of a respectable family seeing the Kafir about to claim the victory, took him unawares, and sent him sprawling full length on the ground. In an instant the Kafir's blood was roused; springing to his feet, he eagerly asked one who is now a distinguished minister, "What shall I do to him?" and when advised not to retaliate, quietly allowed the insult to go unpunished. During his college course he became the associate and intimate friend of a knot of young men of high moral tone. By them he was introduced and became a welcome guest among many highly respectable families. He used to tell with great glee how on visiting for the first time one of these homes, a little girl seeing a black-faced man entering the house rushed, in a state of great trepidation for concealment and protection to her mother, and audibly inquired "Mama, is he a newly caught one?"

The religious denominations in that city of the west of Scotland are peculiarly addicted to a species of festive gathering called *sourees*, where tea is freely imbibed, to be followed by a feast of reason in the shape of speeches on various subjects. There was a great demand for the presence of Tiyo Soga at these—a live Kafir—a countryman of the world-famed Makomo. Invitations poured in upon him. Whilst ready to give a stimulus to mission work by his presence, he instinctively shrank from invariably being the lion at such gatherings because he had a black face.

Having attended the Glasgow University, he was admitted a divinity student to the Theological Hall of the United Presbyterian Church, which meets in the Grey City of the North in autumn—when Edinburgh appears to the very best advantage. Here he was in his very element. A common sympathy pervaded the students at that seminary, for they were all looking forward to be engaged in the ministry. The professors also were marked men, who cherished a deep interest in their pupils. There was old Dr. John Brown, whose face was a study of itself; there was Dr. Eadie, massive, physically and intellectually, who charmed the students with his eloquence; there was Dr. McMichael, on whose features shade and sunshine

alternately played; there was Dr. Harper, stern and logical; there was Dr. Lindsay the exegete, the very picture of kindness. For five sessions he sat at the feet of these men of consecrated scholarship, and received an impulse for biblical study which he has used for the advantage of his countrymen.

During the recess he completed his literary course at the Glasgow University. He attended a course of lectures on medicine at the Andersonian University, and appeared every two months before the Glasgow Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church for examination on subjects prescribed to candidates for the ministry. The training he received was thorough. His examiners made no distinction because of his colour, and he acquitted himself with honour in all the branches of study.

Having completed his studies, he was licensed as a preacher, and in 1857 was ordained as a minister by the "laying on" of the hands of the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Glasgow. Wherever he preached, crowds went to hear him, drawn partly by curiosity, partly by interest in the man, and partly by the novelty of a Kafir preaching in the English tongue. But none ever heard him without being impressed with his earnestness and strong common sense. Before he left for South Africa he was married, but not to one belonging to his race or country. I am led to believe he took the step on the advice of his friend and patron, the Rev. Dr. Anderson; and leaving out of consideration all other questions, so far as his own personal usefulness as a missionary is concerned, it was the wisest step he could have taken, for there was not one of his countrywomen fit to occupy the position of being his partner.

He landed in Port Elizabeth in July 1857; hastened to the frontier, to his own Gaika tribe; and located himself at the Umgwali, where for ten years he wrought as a missionary with a devotion rarely equalled. He was unappreciated by the man whose only claim to the Gaika chieftainship is the fact that his mother was the great wife of Gaika. There was little sympathy between the chief and his missionary; for a man of Tiyo Soga's stamp, who was gifted with a pure and lofty mind, found nothing attractive in one who has so much of the animal in his nature.

For several years during his residence at the Umgwali he lived in a miserable cottage which had been erected as a temporary dwelling on his first arrival there, and it was doubtless because of the discomforts of cold and damp then experienced that the germs of the disease—laryngitis—from which he suffered so acutely during the last two years of his life were laid. But Mr. Soga was not the man to complain; he bore these trials patiently and without a murmur.

From the Umgwali he was transferred to the Transkei, where he commenced life afresh, living for many months in a hut. He left behind at the Umgwali a large and flourishing station, a commodious church, well attended, a comfortable dwelling, and an attached people. Willingly he went forward to that centre of heathenism, where super-



stition reigns supreme. The last four years of his life he spent with the Galekas,—a people who have had many opportunities of receiving the Gospel, but nevertheless remain to this day one of the most incorrigible races on the face of the earth. He spent fourteen years of his life as a missionary. In the very prime of life he is cut down. But he had accomplished his work—for man is immortal till his work is done.

In summing up the various features of his character, one of the most striking was his exquisite sensitiveness. This was not the result of education or civilization. It showed itself in his very earliest years, and when a pupil at Lovedale. It was constitutional. He was a man not easily offended, but if anything was said or done likely to bring discredit on the great work to which he had devoted himself, it seemed completely to unnerve him. When injured, he repressed his anger but indulged his grief, and was accustomed on such occasions to conduct himself rather like a person wounded than offended. He possessed that gentleness which shrank with an instinctive recoil from contention. Add to this a tone of sadness which pervaded his whole life; the cause was difficult to find, and only occasionally, when in conversation on questions affecting the native population he gave utterance to the words "My poor countrymen!", did one get, as it were, to the secret of this depression. Yet this characteristic sadness was balanced by a deeper depth of happiness and liveliness and mirth, which welled up when in the company of kindred spirits and whilst conversing on subjects congenial to his nature. His merry, joyous laugh showed a soul full of inward tranquillity, and it was always observable to those who knew him best that the despondency which overclouded his being was owing to something altogether foreign to himself.

He was a man generous to a fault. If there was any service he could render to another, however great or small, he hastened eagerly to perform it. It was done without parade or ostentation, or desire for reward. It was not done grudgingly or by way of patronage or to court favour. He was thus often imposed upon, especially by his own countrymen. If Mr. Soga showed kindness, you invariably felt he was sincere. If there was a feature of character he abhorred with his whole soul, it was selfishness. It was foreign to his nature; and therefore he despised it in another.

Few men possessed the self-respect which was his. He had not a spark of vanity about him, but he was gifted with a manly pride. He would not stoop to perform a mean action. Edward Irving, in an ordination charge to a young minister, has given utterance to what is now a well-known sentence, "Be the clergyman always; less than the clergyman, never." That was never the motto of Mr. Soga's life. His aim, rather, was to be a true man, and less than a true man, never. He used to speak with withering scorn of the manner in which some bestowed their gifts upon him, and how keenly he felt when some one would thrust a £5 note into his hand, saying, "There, Mr. Soga,

take that, and say nothing about it," and then turn away with an air of self-satisfaction, as if a great favour had been conferred.

He was singularly free from that mischief-making propensity, idle gossip. His reticence regarding others was well marked by all who knew him. The character of another was as sacred as his own. He was a man you could invariably depend upon. What had been revealed to him in confidence he buried beneath the secret folds of his heart. He never carried from the house of a friend all the weaknesses he had seen, to retail them sarcastically to the injury of his neighbour's welfare. He never spoke evil of another. If at any time the conversation verged upon mere gossip Mr. Soga retired into his shell, and sat silent, waiting patiently for a fitting opportunity to turn it into a profitable channel. He often playfully remarked, "I see you white people are not a whit behind my poor countrymen in evil-speaking."

Further, Mr. Soga was a perfect gentleman. He was a black man: he knew it, and, like Othello, never forgot that he was black. Despite that, there never lived a truer and more polished gentleman. John Salden, in his "Table-talk," finds it hard to define what a gentleman is; at the same time, he goes on to tell us that there are two kinds of gentlemen,—the gentleman of blood and the gentleman by creation; and then he adds that civilly the former is the better, but morally the latter is the superior of the two. Mr. Soga was a "gentleman by creation." A few years ago several young missionaries—Mr. Soga one of the number—had occasion to make an application to a gentleman of arms. When they were ushered into his presence the reputed gentleman at once bluntly inquired, "Well, Soga, what have you been about since I last saw you?" The Kafir minister, taken aback, quickly recovered his self-possession, and briefly told that he was labouring at the Umgwali. In answer to this there followed a tirade against missions and mission stations. The gentleman of *præses* pronounced them to be hot-beds of iniquity; they harboured the scum of the Kafir race,—the scoundrels, blackguards, and drunkards of Kafirdom. Missionaries were said to have done no good, and in proof, the old well-worn story of the Kat River rebellion was given. Mr. Soga, to whom these invectives were more specially addressed, listened until the speaker had exhausted his vocabulary, and then with calm dignity replied: "Our object in waiting upon you, sir, was not to discuss the question of what missions had accomplished. You have for were we to presume to answer your statements, you might exercise your authority and command us to be removed from your presence." Let the reader judge for himself as to which of these speakers was the true gentleman.

Add to this another incident. There was one home where Mr. Soga had been a frequent guest whilst resident at the Umgwali, but which, after a long interval, he had visited about six months before his death—the lady of the house being from home at the time. When



the tidings were flashed across the Colony that the Kafir missionary was no more, a little girl, a member of this family, not three years of age, brimful of simplicity, rushed to her mother exclaiming, "Mr. Soga is dead." "Hush! child," said the mother, "you don't know Mr. Soga, for you never saw him." "I do know Mr. Soga," said the child; "he spoke to me on the sofa there." The mother then asked what Mr. Soga was like, "Was he a white man?" "He was black," was the reply, "but he was a gentleman!"

His brethren in the ministry, his associates, his intimate friends, all recognized and acknowledged him to be a true-born gentleman, and here was a stammering infant unconsciously testifying to the fact.

He was a scholar in the true sense of the word, that of being a learner. On to the very last he was acquiring knowledge. He was desirous to get information from every one with whom he came in contact. Even from his own countrymen he was ever collecting facts as to past events, genealogies, ancient customs, and battles. Few of his own nation surpassed him in their knowledge of the history of the Kafir race, and certainly none surpassed him in his graphic power of describing a battle. I have seen him long past midnight sitting in a Kafir hut, note-book in hand, jotting down some incident or tale or bloody fight as described by an old wrinkled countryman of his own. I have known him take a journey of at least thirty miles to see the old Chief Botman, to hear him narrate scenes of Kafir history which only he could tell. He knew all the brave warriors of his race; and when he met any of them his face brightened up, and he would say, "That is So-and-so; I shall draw him out, and you will hear his adventures."

He was always learning from Europeans, picking up knowledge on every imaginable subject. Docility was a feature of character he never lost.

A missionary, if at all faithful in the discharge of his many and varied duties, if he is assiduous in his itinerancies and conscientious in his preparations for the pulpit, has but little time for self-improvement in the way of systematic reading unless he husbands carefully every spare hour. Tiyo Soga did this. He was an earnest student, read much and to advantage,—carefully digested what he read, so that he could reproduce his information when required. He was well versed in all current topics, read studiously the periodical literature of the day, watched with a keenness bordering on enthusiasm the events which made the life-blood of the whole world pulse, and was ready modestly but firmly to give his own opinion on the teachings, character, and conduct of the men who rule the world, either by their thoughts or actions or example. His favourite study was History—Macaulay and Prescott being the authors over whose works he loved to linger with passionate interest. He was somewhat defective in his knowledge of English poetry, and preferred rather to hear read than to read himself the works of Shakspeare or Milton or Tennyson; and during his arduous work at the Board of Revisers of the Kafir

Bible his greatest relaxation after the fatiguing work of the day was to spend the evening listening to a kind friend reading to him from the poets. On one of these occasions he involuntarily exclaimed after hearing read the play of *Othello*, "Shakspeare knew well how to depict the character of a black man."

He was passionately fond of music, and invariably led the singing in his own church. The song "Rule Britannia" was one whose words he never could tolerate; he affirmed there was so much vain-glory and pride about it, and he, as one of the conquered race, felt that it exulted over a crushed foe. He was a man of rare self-sacrifice. He possessed in an eminent degree the strange deep blessedness of denying himself, and striving and suffering for the good of others. He was truly a benefactor of his race, and he showed it not by empty meaningless words, but by actions. There are few men who would so willingly have relinquished the enjoyments of a comfortable home such as he had at the Umgali, and entered upon a rough life in the Transkei with a shattered constitution for the benefit of others. But he has done it, and his name must henceforth be enrolled with the "heroes and saints and martyrs, and humble, unknown benefactors in all ages of all lands and of all creeds," who have scorned a smooth and pleasant path for the good of the world and the glory of God.

He was a loyal subject of our good Queen Victoria. The story has already been told of the funeral oration he pronounced in his own church to his sable congregation when the sorrowful tidings came that the Prince Consort was dead; and it is told, further, that to this day, as the result of that sermon, his old faithful mother, in conducting the devotional exercises at a prayer meeting of the female members of the church to which she belongs, never omits to offer a special petition on behalf of "our widowed Queen." He was not only loyal himself; he strove also to teach loyalty to his people. He frequently contrasted in his sermons the reckless sacrifice of human life which prevailed during the despotic rule of the chiefs, with the liberty, peace, and safety which abound now that the Kafirs are under British rule.

But he was none the less a patriot. He loved his country, and he honoured his chiefs. Is he to be despised for his patriotism? Has not Shakspeare said: "Had I a dozen sons—each in my love alike—I had rather had eleven die nobly for their country than one voluptuously surfeit out of action?" And when an educated Kafir, a civilized and christianized Kafir, cherished this feeling as a Christian duty, is he to be the less honoured? Some men, in ignorance, confound patriotism with rebellion. Mr. Soga never could have been a rebel. He would rather have died than be a traitor. His patriotism was of the truest stamp, unalloyed with anything base, or mean, or underhand. Whilst he resented boldly any injustice or insult done to his countrymen, there never lived a man so outspoken, so fearless in his denunciations against the faults of his people when occasion



required. Unsparingly, unflinchingly, from his own pulpit he exposed with righteous indignation the vices of his people and his age. He often took for his text such words as these: "I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart. For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ, for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh." On such occasions, roused to the highest pitch of excitement, he anathematized those customs and vices which are the curse of the Kafir race. One of the last conversations I had with him on general questions was on that savage custom of stealing and flaying the animal alive simply for its skin, and I can recall how eagerly he sought for a remedy so that it might be extinguished. The spy system he justly abhorred; he knew well his countrymen, and was wont to say that spies were time-servers, who would prove faithful so long as their own selfish ends were furthered. He frequently attended the Circuit Court in King William's Town. On one occasion when he was present, a low-browed, debauched, hang-dog looking Kafir spy was giving his evidence as to how he had caught some thieves in the act. Mr. Soga looked with sadness on this degraded specimen of humanity, and then whispered to a friend: "I feel certain within me the man is not speaking the truth." On the following morning, when the same fellow appeared to give evidence in another case, he was utterly incapable, having been freely imbibing, and when sentenced to a few days' imprisonment for his inebriety, Mr. Soga turned to one who had something to do with the system, and said, "Do you mean to say you find such a fellow as that trustworthy?"

He had an intense reverence for the law courts and cherished a sterling sense of veneration for the personification of justice, but mourned over the defect in our Circuit Courts in not having an advocate who understood the Kafir language. As he left the Circuit Court of King William's Town one day, after hearing several judgments of one of the members of the bench, he remarked to a friend: "I love that judge; and I can trust my countrymen in his hands, for I see he wishes to do them justice."

Referring to the great want of uniformity in the decisions of special magistrates, clerks in charge, and their satellites, the native police, he often remarked that his countrymen were utterly bewildered as to the principle on which they were governed,—for one day a case was decided according to English, and the next according to Kafir law.

He used to speak of his countrymen as having a great veneration for their father the Governor, and he frequently remarked that our Government were blind to the fact that his countrymen, from the training they had received from their chiefs to reverence law, would willingly submit to any legislative enactment whatever which had justice in it, so long as the reasons were given for its promulgation, and it was clearly shown to be for their improvement and moral welfare.

He had a great admiration for the British soldier, never lost the opportunity of seeing a review, and though a man of peace had a martial spirit. When the military were removed from King William's

Town he was quite dejected, and in passing through the Reserve he spoke of the oppressive silence as reminding him of Goldsmith's "Deserted Village." He looked upon the simple presence of the military in this Colony as exercising a salutary influence on the natives, and as the means of preserving peace. He often spoke of the British soldier as full of mercy, even in times of war, remarking that there was great truth in the saying current amongst his countrymen: "The *red-coats* shoot you with one hand and give bread to your starving children with the other." From his childhood, when he used to go and sell fruit at the Beaufort Barracks, he admired the English soldier, no doubt because of many acts of kindness shown to the Kafir boy by England's warriors.

His family life is a subject too sacred to be touched upon in this paper. It was simple, full of tenderness, and affection, and thought, and care; it was destitute of selfishness or worldliness. The following pen-and-ink sketch, as it has already received publicity, must suffice on this point. It appears in the Rev. Dr. Wangemann's work, entitled "*One Year in South Africa*," page 219:—

"Saturday, January 12, 1867.—In the evening we rode to the Rev. Tyo Soga's, who is a converted Kafir, has studied in England, and married an English lady. He returned to Kaffraria to labour among his nation as minister and missionary. He has about 150 communicants on his station (Emgwali), and exercises a great influence among his nation. He is a man of fine European education, of great gifts, and of greater scientific ability than we generally meet with in English theologians. His judgment is discerning and clear; he speaks with precision, so that he is the governor of his station and his house, although he is a Kafir. The interior of Tyo Soga's house looked elegant. Mrs. Soga appeared satisfied. Mr. Soga himself is of a slender figure, and suffers from an affection of the throat. With his lively eye and versatile talk, he leads the conversation at table. He was well versed in the German theology of modern times, and deplored its influence on England's Church. The impression I had of the congregation on the sabbath day was a favourable one. The congregation listened attentively, and sang very well."

He was a staunch Presbyterian, but by no means a sectarian bigot. He claims the honour of being the only missionary who has preached from the pulpits belonging to every Evangelical denomination in the Colony, clearly proving that he was recognized by brethren of other denominations as a man of large charity. Whilst he often spoke of the Presbyterian form of Church government as well suited to the Kafir mind—being easily understood—he felt that its Church service was bald, and, therefore, not so attractive as where a liturgy is in use. Although belonging to a Church which receives no State aid, personally he had no scruples to accept such help for education, so long as the Government did not interfere with the liberty of conscience and imposed no restrictions as to the manner and character of religious instruction.

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Town he was quite dejected, and in passing through the Reserve he spoke of the oppressive silence as reminding him of Goldsmith's "Deserted Village." He looked upon the simple presence of the military in this Colony as exercising a salutary influence on the natives, and as the means of preserving peace. He often spoke of the British soldier as full of mercy, even in times of war, remarking that there was great truth in the saying current amongst his countrymen: "The *red-coats* shoot you with one hand and give bread to your starving children with the other." From his childhood, when he used to go and sell fruit at the Beaufort Barracks, he admired the English soldier, no doubt because of many acts of kindness shown to the Kafir boy by England's warriors.

His family life is a subject too sacred to be touched upon in this paper. It was simple, full of tenderness, and affection, and thought, and care; it was destitute of selfishness or worldliness. The following pen-and-ink sketch, as it has already received publicity, must suffice on this point. It appears in the Rev. Dr. Wangemann's work, entitled "*One Year in South Africa*," page 219:—

"Saturday, January 12, 1867.—In the evening we rode to the Rev. Tyo Soga's, who is a converted Kafir, has studied in England, and married an English lady. He returned to Kaffraria to labour among his nation as minister and missionary. He has about 150 communicants on his station (Emgwali), and exercises a great influence among his nation. He is a man of fine European education, of great gifts, and of greater scientific ability than we generally meet with in English theologians. His judgment is discerning and clear; he speaks with precision, so that he is the governor of his station and his house, although he is a Kafir. The interior of Tyo Soga's house looked elegant. Mrs. Soga appeared satisfied. Mr. Soga himself is of a slender figure, and suffers from an affection of the throat. With his lively eye and versatile talk, he leads the conversation at table. He was well versed in the German theology of modern times, and deplored its influence on England's Church. The impression I had of the congregation on the sabbath day was a favourable one. The congregation listened attentively, and sang very well."

He was a staunch Presbyterian, but by no means a sectarian bigot. He claims the honour of being the only missionary who has preached from the pulpits belonging to every Evangelical denomination in the Colony, clearly proving that he was recognized by brethren of other denominations as a man of large charity. Whilst he often spoke of the Presbyterian form of Church government as well suited to the Kafir mind—being easily understood—he felt that its Church service was bald, and, therefore, not so attractive as where a liturgy is in use. Although belonging to a Church which receives no State aid, personally he had no scruples to accept such help for education, so long as the Government did not interfere with the liberty of conscience and imposed no restrictions as to the manner and character of religious instruction.

Vol. IV.



"No man lives," says Carlyle, "without jostling and being jostled; in all ways he has to *elbow* himself through the world, giving and receiving offence." Mr. Soga got his share of jostling; sometimes it was very galling and hard to bear. To be insulted as he entered the public room of a wayside inn, in the company of a gentleman of no mean repute, with the remark, seasoned with an oath, "We allow no niggers in here!"—to be arrested by the police for travelling without a pass,—to see a little drummer walking backwards before him, and as he did so squaring up and saying, "So you are the nigger that has married a white woman? Eh! Come along!"—to hear a rude Scotchman shout out to him, "I am ashamed of my countrymen!"—was enough to embitter his life. He had to bear many indignities; it was a hard price he had to pay sometimes for his position. Walking along one of the streets of King William's Town shortly after his arrival, he was thus accosted by a young officer:—"Hallo, Johnny, what a great swell you are! Where did you get that white choker? What's your name?" Mr. Soga touched his hat and replied, "My name, sir, is the Rev. Tiyo Soga; and what may your name be, please?" There was no reply. The officer passed on, heartily ashamed of his conduct, as he himself afterwards told the story with deep regret.

The following incident he used to narrate himself with considerable mirth. He had gone to a certain port which is pronounced to be the key to the interior, with the object of meeting a friend who was expected by steamer. After a long dusty journey he stood at the door of the hotel, seeking admission. The landlord, not knowing the weary traveller, showed him to a small room in the backyard, perfumed with the mellow flavour from the stable. The apartment contained as its furniture two forms and a table. On one of these forms was a well-worn pair of large blucher boots; on the other Mr. Soga stretched himself to rest. Presently, the door was opened and an able-bodied navy entered, who, on seeing a black man enjoying a siesta, gave a long whistle, inquired "Who have we got here?"—then suddenly made a rush to the boots and seized them, exclaiming "Be jabers, I must take care of me property!" The grotesqueness of the scene, as well as the idea of his stealing such a pair of boots, proved too much, and he burst into a loud laugh. Explanations followed. Soon Mr. Soga found himself in one of the most comfortable chambers of the inn, and on the following day—Sunday—as he conducted service, his two most attentive listeners were mine host, and the Irishman who had deemed him capable of stealing a pair of boots!

On another occasion, passing with a brother minister through an insignificant village, they were accosted by the magistrate, who had little of the *suaviter in modo*, who cordially greeted Mr. Soga's companion, and then turned to him and abruptly demanded his pass. The joke was so personal and unfeeling, that Mr. Soga thereafter implored the Lieutenant-Governor of British Kaffraria to furnish him with a passport, so that he might travel without feeling that he

violated the law of the Colony. At another time, when travelling from the interior, he had occasion to pass through a town, and had been entrusted with a letter which he was requested to leave at a certain store. According to his instructions he called at this establishment and delivered the epistle. The mistress of the house, seeing a black man leaving a letter to her care instead of delivering it himself, hailed Mr. Soga as he was retiring, and, not knowing who he was, commanded him to take it to the party to whom it was addressed. Mr. Soga lifted the letter, read the address aloud, with the instructions plainly marked on the envelope, and then laid it down on the counter, saying, "Madam, I was requested to leave the letter here, and here it shall be left." The woman instantly burst into a fearful storm, abused him violently, calling him a good-for-nothing lazy scoundrel. She had not spent her abusive eloquence, when the gentleman to whom the letter was addressed walked in and warmly greeted Mr. Soga. The virago no sooner heard the name than she instantly disappeared into the back premises. Mr. Soga having been prevailed upon to spend the night with this friend, his abuser sent an apology, saying, she did not know who he was, else she would not have spoken as she did. The apology was accepted; Mr. Soga at the same time remarking that she could not have much of the lady in her character, when she was capable of abusing a black man without cause. Such were some of the insults through which this retiring, inoffensive man had to elbow himself; and they were all the more painful to bear because they indicated the place his countrymen held in the estimation of some, and because he had to bear them all alone.

As a preacher, Mr. Soga held up before him a high standard of excellence, which he did not fail to reach. His discourses were eminently practical, clear, calm, and logical. He did not speak because he must say something, but because he had something to say. His sermons in English were carefully prepared, fully written out, and read. To the hearer, they resembled the rustic murmur of the brook. There was nothing grand or awful about them,—no rushing rapids or dashing cataracts with their rainbow spray. He did not aim to be an orator, and therefore those who heard him for the first time expecting to hear rousing eloquence went away with a feeling bordering on disappointment. But whilst destitute of oratory he spoke as man to men, and that is the truest eloquence. You invariably felt that he had a message to deliver, and that he had been successful in giving it. He touched a chord in the hearts of his hearers; and in token that he had produced a lasting impression, was frequently asked for a perusal of his manuscript.

When he preached for the first time in Trinity Church, Graham's Town, a great crowd assembled to hear him; amongst his hearers was General Jackson. At the close of the service the General is said to have asked why none of his chaplains could preach such sermons as the one he had just heard. Whereupon one of the staff



replied that it was impossible the sermon they had listened to could be an original composition. In a critique which appeared in one of the colonial papers in 1864, of an anniversary sermon he preached, a similar insinuation is given to the public. "He reads," says the penny-a-liner, "from his sermon-book like a well-trained orthodox machine, and pronounces as distinctly and perfectly and slowly as said machine may be expected to do were it contrived. The subject of his discourse was justification by faith, and not by works; and he treated it after the most orthodox of fashions,—in fact, just as it had been taught him, without attempting originality of language or ideas."

The only answer to these uncharitable detractors is, that they have unwittingly paid him the very highest compliment as a preacher. His sermons were not pieces of mosaic; there was no dovetailing of other men's thoughts and words about them. They were all coined in the mint of his own brain. He was a man who thought for himself: he was always thinking. Few men can lay claim to this power; for, as Carlyle says, "not one in the thousand has the smallest turn for thinking." Mr. Soga was endowed with this power, and he has left behind him many proofs that he was a thoughtful man. On the fly-leaves of books, on small scraps of paper, he was ever jotting down thoughts that were struggling for expression. He has likewise left a large collection of thoughtful, earnest sermons. He was ever seeking to help his fellow-men amid their nameless sorrows, their cruel strifes, their petty cares. His aim ever was to lighten the burden of life for others. He had penetrated a depth of Christian experience himself, and he strove to teach dying men to live for a purpose. *A machine*, he was not going the same monotonous, perpetual round. Orthodox he was, in so far as that means that he was a learner of Christ—counting himself not to have apprehended, but pressing to that which is before.

The following anecdote shows with what power oftentimes his words went to the hearts of men. He had been requested on one occasion to preach for a brother minister. On his leaving home he was unable to find the sermon he intended to preach. After a fruitless search, and pressed for time, he put another manuscript into his pocket, not examining particularly the subject-matter of it. Reaching his destination he preached to a respectable congregation on the evils resulting from Christians yielding to evil tempers in their intercourse one with another. As he proceeded he was struck with the marked attention of his audience, and not until afterwards did he ascertain the cause. One of the most prominent members of the congregation had been engaged in some unpleasant dispute with his neighbours, and so violent had the warfare become, that it had led to the utterance of language unworthy of professing Christians. When the service was over, he was abruptly accosted by this individual and gruffly asked if that sermon had been purposely preached to insult him before the congregation. Mr. Soga was confounded, and explained the

circumstances which led him to deliver this sermon. He soon learned from others the cause of this attack, and when speaking of the circumstance afterwards, expressed his conviction that he had been led by a remarkable providence unconsciously to speak words which he had not intended. He drew the bow at a venture and the arrow penetrated deeply into the sore. The incident shows his correct knowledge of human nature and the power he possessed of unmasking those small sins which are the most ruinous to Christian life and conduct.

But it was in his own tongue and to his own countrymen that he was truly a remarkable preacher. There his power lay—that was his throne. He had a marvellous power of description and illustration,—declaimed and denounced when necessary, was in turns logical and pathetic. He could sway his audience at will, and possessed a wonderful tact of arresting attention. Travelling on one occasion with the Gaika Commissioner, we came to one of those deep stony gorges of the Thomas River just as the shadows of evening were lengthening. A few yards from the road was a chief's kraal, where a large dance was being held. The dancers in two columns were heaving to and fro whilst the old bard stood between, lashing them into excitement to make a final effort ere they separated for the night. Mr. Soga diverged and went up to the dance whilst we proceeded to our encampment. Some time after he followed, and was thoughtful the whole evening. Next morning, as a message had been sent to the villagers around that service was to be held, a vast congregation assembled at our tent, many coming probably from curiosity. When all was ready Mr. Soga, who was to conduct the service, stood under the shade of a large olive tree, with a crowd before him whose attention could be easily diverted by the simple bark of a dog. After a short prayer he commenced, praised the people before him, stringing together some snatches of the rugged language of the bard he had listened to the previous evening. He struck a chord. All eyes were riveted. Then he spoke of the joy he felt at seeing his countrymen so happy, and having gained a willing ear he glided into his text, saying, "Whilst you are thus so joyous and merry you are 'living without God and without hope in the world.'" Argument and illustration followed, and there came an appeal, forcible and striking, which produced a marked impression on his hearers.

At our next halting place he was again the preacher, and preached a totally different sermon from the same text. As he spoke at this village, a middle-aged man, one of the audience, frequently rolled on the ground with laughter. When the service was over, curious to know the cause of this merriment, we ventured to inquire. The man replied, "I was not laughing at anything, but I was pleased with the way the son of Soga spoke to us; for he just drove a bolt right through us and riveted it on the other side, so that we were compelled to listen and submit."



The last occasion I heard him preach in Kafir was at the opening of my church. It was on a Sabbath afternoon in August. The church was crowded in every part by his red-painted countrymen. He gave out a hymn in low tones, offered a short earnest prayer; read calmly the 72nd Psalm; then followed another hymn; after which he gave out as his text, "His name shall endure for ever," &c. He briefly explained the context, then traced the names of the long line of Kafir chieftains, the names of the brave warriors, the names of the white men who are renowned by their actions in this country. Then he showed how one by one these names as the years increased were passing into forgetfulness. He paused. But who is this whose name is immortal. He told it. He described its greatness. He told what this One had done; wove into his sermon in sublime language the simple story of Christ's life work. He told that all men, *Kajirs even*, were to be blessed in Him. Then he implored, reasoned, urged his countrymen to partake of this blessedness. He pictured to them their degradation, their misery, their dispersion, and closed with a powerful appeal, beseeching them to accept of that which alone would make them a blessed and a happy people. After this burst of eloquence he sat down, panting, heaving, exhausted; and as we looked upon him after the storm had passed, we felt even then that the end was not far off. One old hardened sinner, as he left the church, exclaimed, "What means the son of Soga thus to unman us, so that our eyes have been bedimmed with tears!"

Such was Mr. Soga as a preacher to his countrymen. He was unsurpassed, and his mantle has not yet fallen on another.

He has likewise improved his talent for usefulness through the medium of the press. He has contributed largely to Kafir Hymnology. He is the translator of the Pilgrim's Progress, a work concerning which there is only one opinion, and to add another sentence to what has been already said would appear like meaningless eulogy. Into whatever language Bunyan's Pilgrim has been rendered, there is not a truer and more graphic translation of it than that which Tiyo Soga has bequeathed as a rich legacy to his countrymen.

He was the representative of his own denomination at the Board of Revisers of the Kafir Bible. This is not the place to refer to the fierce controversy which raged regarding the imperfections of the present version of the Kafir Bible, neither is it advisable to rake up the hard things which were said and written against him at the time. The wounds then inflicted proved, perhaps, the saddest sorrow of his life,—that men should dare to think that by the attitude he assumed he was ungrateful for the great services rendered to his countrymen of furnishing them with the Word of Life. His death will cause a painful blank as these Revisers meet from time to time around one common table, for his translations, carefully prepared and singularly scholarly, were remarkable for their ability and beauty. He ever carried with him into the translator's room a genial hearty spirit. He relished the work. His own words regarding it were, "It is

no task, but a delightful privilege and duty." This duty absorbed all his spare moments. During the last years of his life he wrought at this work with a zeal, an earnestness, and a pleasure which showed that his whole soul was given to it.

He was a man singularly beloved and respected and honoured by those of his countrymen who could appreciate his worth. They trusted him as an honest man, revered him as a pure-minded man, admired him as a superior man, looked up to him as an upright man, and adored him as a warm-hearted man. But like all benefactors, their loss will only be fully understood in proportion as they advance in moral purity.

As a friend, a truer never lived. There was an irresistible something about him which drew one closer and closer to him. There was a strange fascination about him which made one feel that he was a great man, worth loving, worth trusting. One could always confide in Mr. Soga. Although he was a humble, retiring man, he exercised a power and an influence over others which never can be lost. The secret of all this,—that which made him what he was, which raised him the highest of his countrymen, the representative man of his race,—was the simple fact that he was a true Christian. That fact none can gainsay. It showed itself at all times,—in conversation, in the tones of his voice, in the gentleness of his nature, in the warm shake of the hand at meeting and at parting, in his hospitality, in his unwillingness to offend, in his home life, in his contact with men of all grades and colour. Tiyo Soga was a Kafir, an educated man, a missionary, a gentleman; but the one feature of his character which towered far above the rest, which showed itself in every look and gesture, was this,—Tiyo Soga was a *Christian man*.

It has been remarked that he was a poor specimen of a Kafir. Physically he was about the middle height, was painfully hollow about the chest, and neither walked nor sat erect. But when you looked at his face, at those large dark hazel eyes, and that broad noble forehead, high, full and gently sloping backwards, you involuntarily felt that here is a man of great moral worth and high intellectual culture. During the last years of his life, he struggled against great physical weakness. The Church of which he was so worthy a son put forth repeated efforts for his recovery. His own brethren implored him to cease from active work, but he resolutely refused. He struggled on. So sensitive was he regarding his state of health, that it was a subject on which he was remarkably reticent, and wished others to be silent also. With sorrow we looked upon his wasting frame and sinking strength. Each time he toiled up and down the rugged lofty Kei heights on his journeys to and from his station, he felt himself that the end was not far off. At last it came. The months of June and July last were with him months of great suffering. Yet he wrought on at the translation of the Acts of the Apostles in addition to his other duties, until compelled by sheer exhaustion to yield. He rallied for a few days, and hope



revived in the hearts of friends. True to his eagerness for work, he was out on the 9th and 10th August, vaccinating hundreds of people who besought his help. A relapse ensued. He caught fresh cold; then rapidly followed the end: for ere friends could be summoned to bid him a long last farewell, he had gone. On Saturday afternoon, the 12th of August, his tongue was silenced and his eyes were closed in death.

He was buried on the 18th of August, at the station on the Transkei which he had established. There gathered around his grave representatives of all the various nations which populate our Colony,—Englishmen, Germans, Africans, Kafirs, Fingoes, Hottentots, Malays. The various sects of Christians found representatives there, to shed a tear over the remains of one of South Africa's noblest sons.

—Standing by his grave on a calm, peaceful evening, the low, deep murmur of the Indian Ocean is heard far away in the distance—fit emblem of the undertone of sadness which pervaded his whole life. Away towards the setting sun rise in massive outline the dark blue mountains of the Gaika country, a glorious prospect—fit emblem of the elevated thoughts with which his soul was filled, and made him look upward and beyond. He sleeps well. He was one of God's best works. Let us accept him as having been such. He was a son of the soil: let us cherish his memory and follow his example. On the scroll on which South Africa has written the names of her best and truest and most illustrious sons, henceforward let the name of Tiro Soga be emblazoned in letters of gold.

JOHN A CHALMERS.

### Homœopathy.

Your readers must not expect such a dissertation on this subject as only a medical man could write. I am merely going to jot down some ideas that struck me when I came to ponder over the influence which the new system seems to have exercised upon the minds of a large number of rational people. I believe Hahneman's disciples have got so far as the establishment of a separate medical school in Germany—anything but discarded by the Government. It may be (for, as already hinted, I have not studied medicine) that professors of the new creed found their doctrine on physiological science, though Hahneman, the disciple of Mesmer, is said to have been no physiologist himself; but the generality of those to whom I have spoken, and who put the utmost confidence in the system, have invariably given me *their own experience* as the simple reason of their belief. They could cite examples innumerable, where the regular practitioners had given up their patients, and a resort to the box of infinitesimal doses had effected wonderful cures,—Dr. Atherstone, Dr. Kretschmar,

and the *buis apothec* to the contrary, notwithstanding; whilst my argument that by parity of reasoning, and the very same inductive mode, many a coloured man and many a patient among the Boers had pinned his faith to the *black doctor* seemed to prove nothing. Now, as long as such convictions are likely to continue, will the opposition to Mr. De Wet's Bill, I ask, prevent those who choose to be drugged in their own way, avail aught? It is said we must by legal enactment protect the ignorant against the empirical treatment of quacks. Others opine that education of a certain sort will not put a stop to this kind of mental aberration. Even the great Lord Bacon believed in amulets, and Boyle seriously recommends the thigh-bone of an executed criminal as a powerful remedy in dysentery. Is it much to be wondered at, then, that I knew a neighbour once who for a complication of diseases, including dropsy, swallowed the powdered liver of an unborn hare; or others who cured ringworm and kindred maladies by rubbing the part with an *inherited gold ring*, and had it touched right royally by the seventh unmarried daughter of a family—a *rare* medium some years ago in this Colony, and therefore a somewhat safe way of prophesying, according to the doctrine of chances. But you would never find room, or try to do so, for this trade were I to give you an elaborate disquisition on South African superstitions and their origin, whilst I might have Dr. Bleek upon me if I added that shooting an arrow, of which the head had just scratched the skin, past the patient's right ear was *probatum* for the same cutaneous affection.

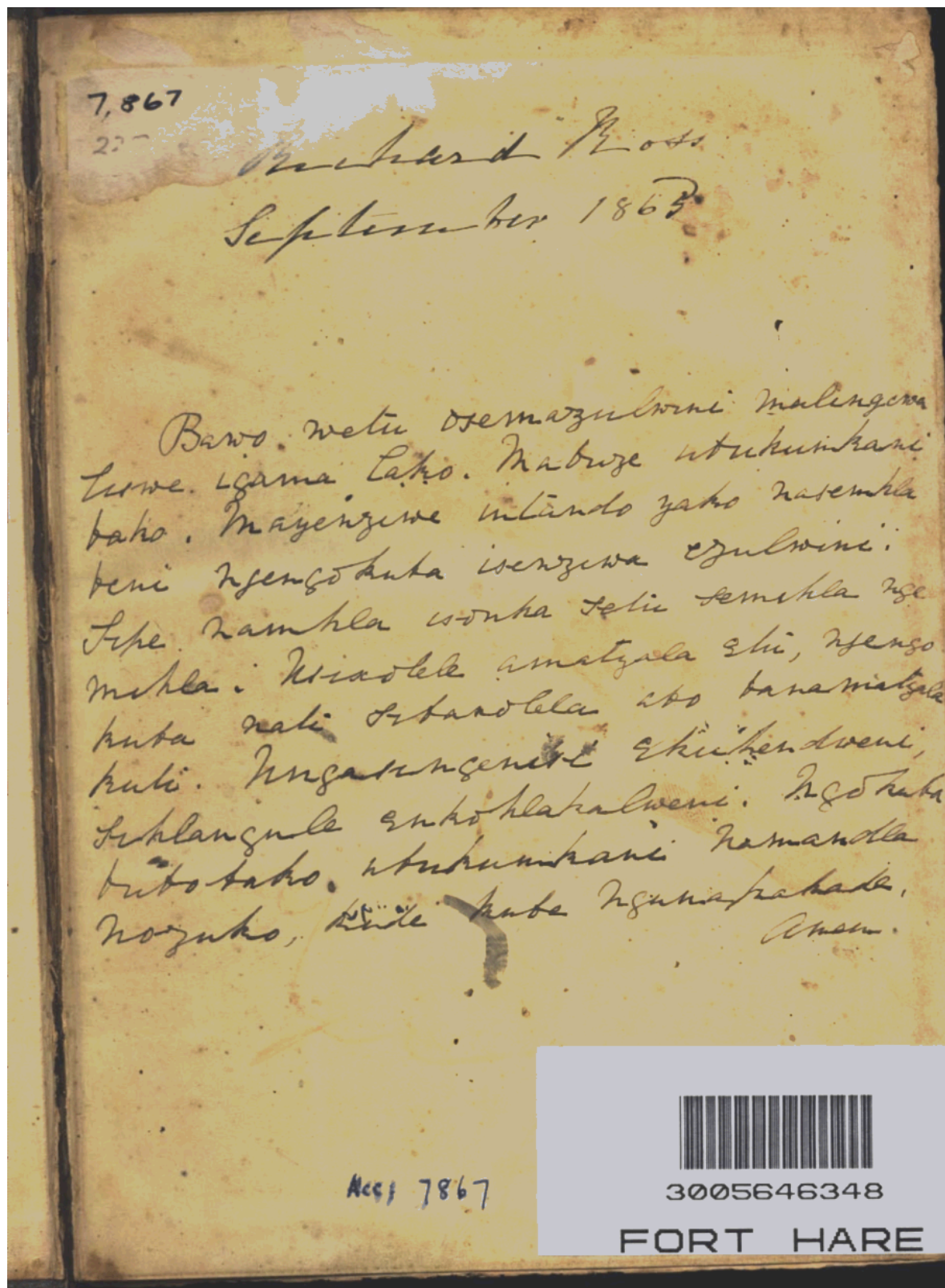
Dr. White used to tell a story of *Taaiër*, the far-famed Malay doctor, who was fetched from Cape Town, a distance of a couple of hundred miles, in a wagon and eight, to practise his art on an old Boer who believed he had been partly bewitched by a sort of slow poison; and when the farmer's son inquired at the Early Market in Cape Town where the Malay priest resided, the youth stood aghast on the seer making his appearance and telling him at once the time when his father had been poisoned, and how long he had been bedridden! Of course, no delay took place in bringing *Taaiër* to the old man's farm; nor was he long there before the effect of an emetic, immediately administered, was so instantaneous as to enable the patient to walk at once from his bed to the river-side. We may smile at this; but how long is it ago that in Paris—the most unbelieving city in the world—an old soldier healed colonels and generals of all manner of diseases by the motion of his wand or the utterance of unmeaning phrases?

Similar anecdotes could be repeated *ad infinitum*. I have heard of another Malay doctor who had, like Dr. Priessnitz, a regular establishment on an out-of-the-way farm, and by means of one large earthen can, constantly replenished with the same restorative mixture, the unsophisticated inhabitants, even from a considerable distance, were relieved by hundreds. Many whose ailments were more or less chronic dwelt in tents and wagons, whilst the poorer coloured



# Appendix L:

Soga's Bible inscription and cover



INNOCWADI

# YEZIBALO EZINGCWELE,

E

ZETESTAMENTE ENDALA

NE

ZETESTAMENTE ENTSHA,

ZIGUQULWE KWEZONTETO ZANIKWA KUQALA NGAZO.



ELONDON, KWELAMANGESI:  
ISHICILELWE NGU-W. CLOWES NONYANA BAKE.

1864.



## Appendix M:

Speech given by Soga on the occasion of the Jubilee of the Venerable Patriarch Brownlee,  
Reproduced from the *Kaffrarian Banner* Vol 1 no 82.

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Thursday 14<sup>th</sup> February 1867

### JUBILEE OF THE VENERABLE PATRIARCH BROWNLEE

A most interesting and instructive meeting was held on Thursday the 17<sup>th</sup>, ult., at Brownlee's station, King William's Town, to celebrate the completion of the fiftieth year of the Revd. John Brownlee, as a minister of the Gospel in South Africa.

The meeting was held in the native church which was crowded to overflowing by a mixed assemblage of natives and Europeans. From a rough estimate there could not have been fewer than from 800 to 1000 persons.

The Rev. Tyo [sic] Soga next rose on behalf of the United Presbyterian church and spoke as follows:-

Friends of truth, - I am appointed to speak this day on this very interesting occasion, on behalf of the United Presbyterian Church, and it is with feelings of intense delight and gratitude that I take part in this ceremony. At the same time, however, I feel it somewhat (sic) difficult to address you with propriety on this DAY OF DAYS. This is a day in which pleasurable and painful associations arise in one's mind—for after all in one's lifetime there are days which stand out as landmarks, and this one in my humble opinion will long stand forth as a marked day.

We of a sable colour, belonging to the various tribes of the Kaffir, Hottentot, and Fingo race, rejoice with gratitude at our presence here this day, because this day whilst it has a more immediate reference to our aged father before us has a reference also to ourselves; this day has reference to us because it recalls (sic) the work which God has wrought amongst us by his aged servant as well as by his other servants—our missionaries in this land.

I am both perplexed and overwhelmed when I endeavour fully to realize the thoughts which are suggested by what is being done under the sun of this day. I become so because of the number of thoughts which spring up one by one involuntarily in my heart, all of them great all of them wonderful, some of them of a painful, others of a pleasant, nature. I feel perplexed as I look around me this day and see these white men our Fathers, our Teachers, who think it no shame to speak of us as being "flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone." On such a day as this I look above and beyond all these petty differences and distinctions of caste and colour, and look upon the great and noble work in which they have been engaged for us, and as I do so, these men rise in my esteem and regard to a point of excellence and grandeur such as I never realised before.

I say I am perplexed on this day of sorrow when I look upon him whom we have come to honour, assembled as we are in such numbers, because to my mind although he has long proclaimed aloud the word of his master, it is as if his voice this day sounded in a louder and clearer tone. Let us for a moment go back on the object of this day's gathering, let us take a retrospective view of our

Father since his arrival amongst us. What is it they say to us in this address which they present him? They say it is fifty years since he left the land of his birth beyond the seas, since he left his friends and closed the door of his home against himself, so that those earthly endearments which are the support and the stay of a man's life might never hinder him in the work to which he had devoted himself.

Well, how astonishing! How marvellous! What is it he saw? And where was it that he saw it? Whither was he going? And what was it that allured him? In answer to these questions, one great answer appears, --that the love of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ surpasses and transcends the knowledge of man, and the wisdom of man, and the judgment of man, and the thoughts of man, and that there is nothing on earth to compare with that love.

This man whom we now call by the title of OUR OWN OLD MAN, having left his home, as not allured by the love of gain. He was not weary of his home—his character was not tainted so that he was compelled to leave his home to go to an unknown country and amongst a nation that was not even of his own colour, there to retrieve his character. He was actuated solely by the principle of love to Christ. He was not actuated by the desire to share in the portioning out of the land of the Kaffir, nor by the desire to share in the spoils of Kaffir wars. He was actuated by the principle of love to Christ.

If you know it ye Kaffirs—if ye know it ye Fingoes – if you know it ye Hottentots, having grown to such an age among you, tell us how far his own private property extends? Where are his cattle kraals? Where are his sheep kraals? On what hills do they graze? And where are his shepherds? He came to this country in order that your souls might be his spoils and his wealth.

He and these men our missionaries like his master before them, care not to be rich in order that by his poverty he might receive the true riches. Brownlee was actuated by such a principle in coming here.

He is a friend, a TRUE friend, a friend who is destitute of revenge. His wife our mother, is also a friend, a true friend, a friend of the Kaffir. These fifty years both of them have borne painful things on our account, and wonderful to relate, such being the character of the parents, the children have inherited their virtues.

With reference now to his work – do you say that he has laboured amongst us for 50 years? During all that long period has he accomplished anything? I shall make but one and a very emphatic answer to this question. There are those who say that nothing has been accomplished by such men as Brownlee; I say emphatically there is—and this day is an incontestible (sic) testimony that he has done something.

Who are these now assembled whom I am addressing, and where are we assembled? Are we in the same degraded position as a race in which Brownlee found us? Does this day betoken no signs of civilization, or progress, or Christian enlightenment? To my mind, all that is now visible can be attributed to Brownlee. Speak out, tribe of Ntinde, sons of Ngconde? To what are the signs of progress amongst you traceable? What is it that moulded the character of such men, now no longer with us, as Gazini Maduna, Rhai, Busakwe, Mbena, Maquindi? To my mind, Brownlee made these men what they were. Speak out Gaikas, Manthlambles, Midanges,--what are we here? I say we are all the result of the labours of Brownlees. He and she sounded to other missionaries the tocsin of a heavenly warfare, and we have gone forth to battle under the leadership of the King of Kings, the Lord Jesus, and left our fathers and our friends and neighbours. If it is not so, if our fathers before us have accomplished nothing, cast aside these hats and bonnets you wear, cast aside these trousers and coats and these gowns, unloose and cast aside these boots you sport, and let us all merge back to the very same state of degradation in which Brownlee found us, because there is nothing in Christianity.

Brownlee has been fifty years planting the seeds of the word of God amongst the Kaffirs. Am I to be told that the word which has taken so long to take root is to wither and die and be lost for ever in this country? Does any man mean to tell me that the word which has been introduced by such

men as he, and Thomson and Ross and Kayser and Chalmers, who is no longer in life, and Bennie and Laing, and Govan and Birt, and Niven and Cumming and Weir and McDiarmid, and Shepstone and Dugmore, the ancients among us, is the word declared by such men to be lost?

Reveal yourself, and let us see you, you insignificant being that say so, no matter whether you be Kaffir or white man, and do not console yourself with the thought that while you are despising missionary work, you are doing so under disguise. Do not be like a frog that croaks unseen, concealed under the bulrushes; do not be like a snake that makes a rustling noise in the grass unseen.

God is not a fool like man. He knows the end of a thing from the beginning. If his eternal purpose of man's salvation were destined to perish, he would have entrusted his work to other than these. He would have entrusted it to useless, good-for-nothing men. He would have entrusted it to madmen. Having given his work to such men as these, His word will continue to future generations of our races, even although they are no longer here. The story of the Gospel will continue to make a sounding noise throughout the land. It will sound as we sang in our opening hymn, from hill to hill; the spirit of prayer will descend from river to river, and all men shall acknowledge and receive it everywhere. I declare to you, as it was declared last Sabbath in solemn tones to our people at the Mgwali, by the good Dr. Wangemann, now with us, that "God hath highly exalted His son, the Lord Jesus, and given him a name which is above every name, and that at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue shall confess that Christ is the Lord to the glory of God the Father." Yes! Every knee shall bow sooner or later, and every tongue shall confess that he is God.

Now what are my reasons for saying that the Gospel having once been introduced will continue with us? Here is my stronghold: --Is it not this that while these men have been planting, they were at the same time praying? Has Brownlee ceased to pray? Have our missionaries ceased to pray? No, from the day that he set foot on South Africa his life has been one long connected prayer. Now, have these vanished like water spilled on the ground? I tell you these men have kindled a fire which will spread until it envelopes the whole of this country in one brilliant blaze of light. I tell you that they have fixed a pole like that of the Kafir --boom and wild plum, bring forth leaves and flowers, and bear fruit, although he who planted them becomes unknown to anyone.

This day, commemorative of the 50<sup>th</sup> year of our Father's labours amongst us, tells us this solemn fact that the shadows of the evening time of his life are descending from the mountains; they are spreading away in the distance. In his journey homewards he has crossed all the rivers, and but few remain before him to cross now. The day is drawing to a close, the sun is fast declining. It says to us that he also probably is looking wistfully towards home. It says to us that by this act we are convoying him so far, although our prayer is that his Maker would give us the loan of him for a little longer.

Let me at this stage, tribe of Ntinde, sons of Ngconde, thank you for the manner in which you have commemorated this day. This liberal act on your part will be perpetrated, for this Bursary will cause his name to live amongst us; because it is intended to assist a young man of your own nation to study for the ministry.

In conclusion, We thank you are Father, Friend of the White man, friend of the Kaffir, of the Fingoe, of the Hottentot, friend of all men, because such an one as you came and settled amongst us and taught of the righteousness of your Lord. In your journey homewards may the richest blessings descend on your path, and when you have centred on your rest, may you have this assurance that we who are still here, are determined that though we fall oft, we will rise again with God's help following on your footsteps. Though we fall oft, we will rise treating the path which you came and opened for us, following that Saviour whom you came and declared to us as having died for our offences. Though we fall, we will rise nearing gradually until we arrive in that blessed, that everlasting home of which you came to tell us that it is in heaven above. Would that your Father in



his own time would relieve you from all your earthly labours, being able to say, “ Lord now lettest thou servant depart in peace.”

## Appendix N:

Articles in Isigidimi Sama-Xosa with different authors for *Zivela Kubababelelani* than Soga

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Isigidimi SamaXhosa

Vol 1 No 2

November 1 1870

Ezivela Kubabalelani

Kumbali we sigidimi

Nkos, - Ngentsuku ezigqitileyo ndive kutwo kuko ipipa elibalwe ngokwama Xosa, inie yalonto bendi ngekayiqondi. Kodwa ngoku ndiyiqondile ngokuba ndilibone ngawam amehlo.

Ndite ndakufika ekaya, sihleli nomfazi wam ndamxelela nay, ndati kuye namhla kulungile, ngoku nati bamnyama inene yezinto zomhlaba siyakuyiva siyiqonde. Koko yena usuke wadela, wati—  
“Into emnyama ingaqondo ntoni nizidenge nje? Into enizaziyo ikulima amazimba, nokusenga inkomo ezimbini nokutunga imvaba yamasi.”

Ndite ke mna kulugile, unyanisile ukuti sizidenge, asazi 'nto, ipepa lelifanele abanjalo; abalumkileyo abavelanga nokulumka, nawe ukusebenza wakufundiswa ngunyoko, nento zonke ezaziwa ngabanye.

Ati ke, “ewe ezintwana ezaziwa siti singazifunda, kodwa ezisencwadini zezabamhlope, tina singe zifundi.”

“Kaume ke! nabamhlope abazanga bayeke ukufunda. Qonda nge posi yakufika ukungxama kwabo, nokusunduzana kwabo ukunga banga fumana amapepa abo. Akuzanga ubabone?”

“Kendibabone.”

Nxathike; “bangxamelo ukuba beve into ezenziwa nezitetwayo kwezinye indawo, nangabanye abantu abangazaziyo bona, ize balumke ngokulumka kwa banye, kuti okubafanaleyo bakuqondek, nokukohlakeleyo bakuzile. Nati ke soqonda ngabo sifunde ngelabo isiko. Ndit ke ngoko ndiyavuya kubeko ipepa elibalwa ngolwetu ulimi.

Ati ke yena, “uyakulizuza pina ke ungayikulipiwa mtu nje, nemali ungenayo yokulitenga?”

“Anditsho nam ukuti ndolipiwa ngumntu. Kakde umsebenzi womntu ungepiwe ze ngokuba ebulaleka nguwo, nook iqosha-na lepepa lona ndolifumana.”

“Uyakulifumana phi?”

“Ndolisebenzela, zonke izinto zomhlaba zifunyanwa ngokusebenza.”

Ndiyapela ngoku ke Nkosi Mnali. Nditi bala elam igama encwadini ngokuti ndiyalifuna ipepa elo; imali yona ndokunika mini sihlanganayo. Inga kodwa ndingakunika ngoku ngokuba ityala ndiloyika.

Nawe ke Nkosi Mbali wakulumka, imali ndiyisebenzela nzima, andinakuyicita ngelize. Ipipa malibe nendaba ezifundisayo, nento ezibalwayo zibe zeziqondisayo, ize nam ndibuye ndiqubise ukunikela. Kuba lingenazo, ndiyazi ukuba nomfazi wam wondikumbuza, ati, yilento bendikuxelela disiti usidenge. Ndipelile ke. Bota nepepa lako elo, sobuya sivane ukuba sisapilile. Ngoku ndisengumkkonzi wako.

U-WELLEM.

6 Vol 2 No 20 May 1 1872: 6

Kubabelelani

Sifumene into eninzi yencwadi, esingenakuzi shicilela zonke. Abo basibalelayo sibacela ukuba bahlale bezibambile ezindawo:

- 1) Balani ngokufutshane.
- 2) Akuko ncwadi iyakushicilelwa, xi ingenalo igama lombali wayo. Asitsho ukuti siyakulishicilela kodwa noko malitunyeli ku Mhleli. Zinizi incwadi ezingashicilelwanga kuba engatunyelwanga amagama.
- 3) Ezinya incwadi uti umbali wazo anganyameki kakulu ekubaleni, ize ingaqondakali into ayitetayo.

## Appendix O:

Soga's employment contract written to Soga and Robert Johnston sent by Somerville April 1857  
National Library of Scotland MS7640: 681-684

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7<sup>th</sup> April 1857

To Messrs Tiyo Soga and Robert Johnston

Dear Brethren

The Board of Missions beg with all affection to give to you the following directions with regard to your conduct in Caffraria.

I<sup>st</sup>. The field of labour. You are sent to the Gaikas, among whom we have had a mission for [word indistinct] [word indistinct]. These Gaikas have been removed from the Amatolas, their native mountains, and located in a new territory near the Great Kei river where the British Government has decided that they remain for the future. Sandilli [sic] has with his chiefs given his consent to the exercising of Missionaries from us in his new location, he is aware(?) of your coming; and he has granted, at the request of the Revd. J.F. Cumming, a suitable spot at the Emgwali River, on which to erect the temporary buildings and to carry on the work of the mission. You are to proceed to the Emgwali, namely that spot, and make it the centre of you missionary operation (?).

II. The object of your mission. You are sent forth as the Ministers of Christ and the Messengers of the Church, to preach to the Gaikas the [word indistinct] of the gospel, for the great and benignant purpose of saving their souls and of preparing them for the service of God on earth and for the enjoyment of him in heaven. This object you will keep steadily and constantly in view. You will adopt the filled means for [word indistinct] the heathen of God's [word indistinct] to the old and to the young; you will only on God's promised purpose and [word indistinct] for [word indistinct] in your labours' and you will carefully avoid whatever has a tendency to hinder the salvation of the people. Face an [word indistinct] there, sent to perform a [word indistinct] work, and in the doing of this work, you will employ those who [word indistinct] which the word of God suggests and warrants (?).

III. [word indistinct] intevesence with the natives and with the Britishh Government. The British Governor, Sir George Grey, under whose jurisdiction British Caffraria is, has given his consent to your commencing a Mission among the Gaikas in their new location. This consent has been granted on certain conditions, which you will find stated in the “Record” for March 1857. These conditions you will [word indistinct] observe. According to these you will make your own busy acre (?) and arrangements with the chiefs, and when this is done – when the chiefs [word indistinct]; made suitable position for [word indistinct] houses, churches, schools and gardens, you will inform these matters to the British Commissioner and get them negotiated. The Governor [word indistinct] either to impose [word indistinct] on the people or to enforce any agreement that may have been made; all that he [word indistinct] is, when the chiefs has made an arrangement, to employ advisers on effect of mediation in persuading them to carry it out. You go, [word indistinct], into Caffraria at your own risk, [word indistinct] that the Lord has gone before you and that His going will be your [word indistinct]. You are under God to defend when the benevolence of your [word indistinct] and your conciliatory conduct, for sealing the affection of the people and your consequent safety. [word indistinct] is to be your defence. In these circumstances you will beware of doing any thing which may be construed into political interference, and which, by inviting suspicion, may furnish a [word indistinct] to the Government for with-drawing its consent.

IV. The buildings necessary for the missions This is a matter which will require very great and gracious consideration. The Board are [prepared] to do any thing that seems requisite for securing the comforts of the Missionary and the [word indistinct] of his work; on this account they were insist that there will be a considerable sum marked for missionary premises but considering the grant before that in the matter of buildings has been sanctioned in times past, they are of opinion [sic] that no [expansion] that is avoidable, should be incurred, till it be sure that there are good prospects of a long period of peaceful labour. They advise, therefore, that on reaching the area and getting such temporary accommodation as may be consistent with [word indistinct] and comfort, you look around you and examine the district, give a brief description of the [word indistinct] and prospects of [word indistinct], show out a sketch and plan of the temporary buildings and an estimate of the expense, and wait for the opinion and sanction of the Board, before any of the more costly erections be undertaken. In this way you will carry along with you the approbation of the Home Church and prevent blame, should any [disaster] again unhappily overtake the Mission.

V. The disposal of the [Jesuit] [converts/convents]. It is understood that the converts/convents of Peelton and of other places, who have strong claims upon us, and who look to us to provide them

with [word indistinct], are willing to go with you, into the new location. Should this movement attain the consent of Sandilli (sic) and of the British Governor, there is reason to believe that it will be productive of much good. These Christian men and women, who have amidst many trials passed their consistent profession of the faith of Jesus, will in their example exercise a beneficial influence upon their [word indistinct] [word indistinct], and aid you very greatly in your missionary labours. But before arranging their removal, you will see that the way is prepared for them, and that the means of subsistence are, with the approbation of all parties, fully provided. And thanks be [word indistinct] Joli and Gaza, that have been aiding as Evangelists, go with you, and should you find there is occasion for their services in the Missions as Evangelists in [word indistinct], the Board authorise you to employ them and to grant them suitable salaries. But before this be done, you will [word indistinct] the Mission, and attain the approval of the Board and [word indistinct].

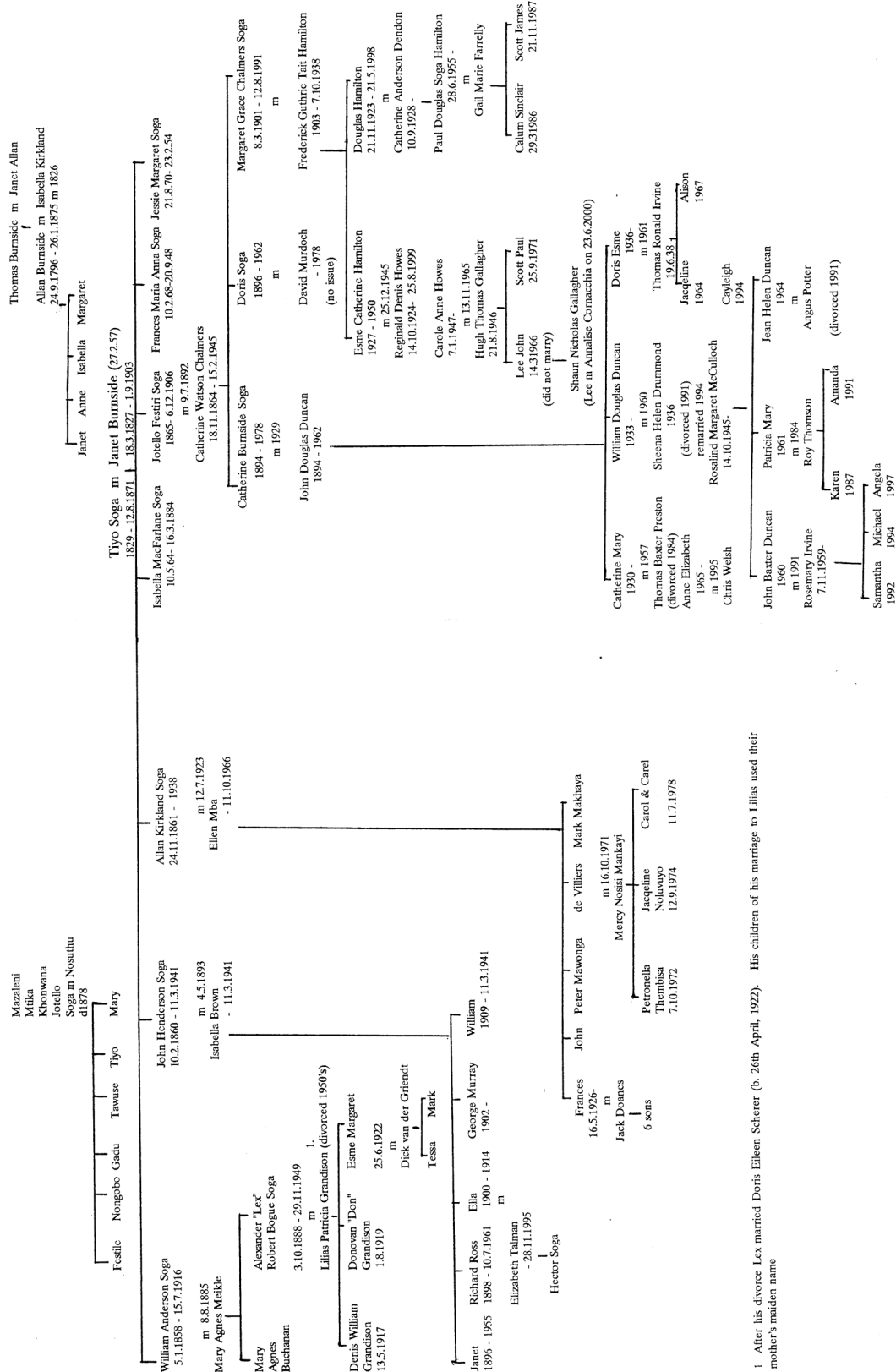
VI. General Implications. 1<sup>st</sup> you are to keep a journal of your Tourdays! , and do send home from time to time such [word indistinct] and natives as are calculated to create [word indistinct] strengthen interest in the Mission. 2<sup>nd</sup> You are to [word indistinct] at the close of task eight

And now, dear Brethren, the Board [word indistinct] commend you to the guidance,

# Appendix P: McArthur's Genealogy

## THE SOGA FAMILY.

## GENEALOGY OF



1 After his divorce Lex married Doris Eileen Scherer (b. 26th April, 1922). His children of his marriage to Lilias used their mother's maiden name

Confused - Confused by George & Margaret McArthur 2002

## Appendix Q:

Soga's first biography – transcription of the biography in the *MRUPC* Vol 3 No XXXII from August 1848

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Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church

Vol III No.XXXII

August 1848

118 – 120

The Rev. Dr Struthers, Glasgow, who, as one of the secretaries of the GMS, conducted for many years, with singular ability and success, the correspondence of the Caffre Mission, has at our request prepared the following interesting

### NOTICES OF TIYO-SOGA AND HIS FAMILY

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of May, the Rev. Mr Anderson, Glasgow, baptized Tiyo-Soga, a converted Caffre youth, who has for some time been residing in Glasgow, for the purpose of receiving such education as should fit him for being a teacher among his countrymen. The circumstance, as might have been expected, has produced a deep and lively impression. He is expected to sail for Caffraria, along with the Rev. Mr Brown, in the course of a few weeks. The following facts may not be uninteresting to our readers as to his history, and that of the Caffre family with which he is connected.

His father is Soga, an unconverted Caffre. After the Caffre war, in 1835-6, he came round to the British resident, Mr Stretch, begging food. He was a powerful, wild Caffre, with a shrewd piercing eye in his head. The British resident expostulated with him on the sin of idleness, and told him he would assist him, if he would lay out the money for the purchase of a plough, and apply himself to labour. Necessity in some measure compelled him to take advantage of the advice. The plough and oxen were procured. He hired out his plough and his services to his countrymen; and, at the end of the first year, pulled out a handful of dollars to Mr Stretch, as the fruit of his industry. He was the first Caffre that ever whistled between the *stilts* of a plough. Still, however, he continued a wild heathen Caffre, and continues so till this day.

He had a son named Festiri. When he was a mere youth, he dropped in occasionally upon the station of Chumie, and heard the gospel preached by Mr Chalmers. Though the whole family were heathens, and lived at a kraal at some distance from the institution, yet he, contrary to every remonstrance, resolved that he would come to Chumie and learn to read the word of God. He was deaf to all entreaties to the contrary. He had the charge of his father's flocks and herds, and, as his first-born son, would have succeeded to be chief man of the kraal; but these things he despised.

In the course of a single year, he learned to read the New Testament with considerable fluency. When he was about to leave, he begged from the missionary some school lessons, and promised that he would make an attempt to teach some of those at his father's kraal. The young man was full of ardour, and his wish was cheerfully met.

It was something more than mere admiration of the white man's ways that influenced him, - the Lord had touched his heart. Without any assistance, he built to himself a small house, after the Chumie fashion, for a school; - opened it as a place for morning and evening prayer, and for



teaching persons to read. He was a solitary light, kindled and set up in a dark place; and his little whitewashed cottage was literally a cottage in the wilderness. His first scholars were his own mother, his brothers and sisters, and his wife, - for by this time he was married. There he continued to meet with them, morning and evening, for prayer, and, in as much as in him lay, also to instruct them in the things of God. It was an interesting sight to see the mother sitting at the feet of her own child, and learning from him the way of salvation.

Festiri was employed by no one. He received neither fee nor reward. He had to bear the taunts and jeers of his countrymen. Now and then Mr Chalmers visited his school, for the sake of encouragement. In a much shorter time than could have been expected, Festiri presented to Mr Chalmers two of his brothers, who could read pretty well, and who were beginning to have their eyes opened to divine things.

Writing, some time after this, to some Sabbath scholars in this country, who heard of him, and who sent him some support, he gives the following very simple and touching description of what were his feelings when he first listened to the preaching of Mr Chalmers, and came under the influence of the religion of Jesus:-

“To myself it is a very great pleasure when I see I can read the *book*. It is my meditation frequently. ‘I had no knowledge’ but now, when I have been taught, I say wonderful!’ God is very great, and the time has arrived to be taught the word of God. In that word, when I beheld what I was doing, it was so very great my sin before God, I felt all my ways; they were evil before God. Yes, my friends, at these times I had no knowledge that sin was an abomination in the sight of God. I was then a lover of sin. There was no thought in me of believing that God saw my ways, that they were only evil; and, although the word of God was often addressed to me, I had no inclination to listen to it, because it was then most pleasant to commit sin, although the word commanded me very much, saying, ‘Let us forsake sin, and the service of the Devil.’ My heart said, I shall serve God when I am old, because I was then young. At these times I had determined, in my own mind, that I would serve God when I became old. But the Lord saw that this saying of my heart was very wicked. Now, my friends, it was a very great evil thus to despise the word of God, and to slight the Teacher. It was an awful thing to despise God. I was then unwilling to forsake my sins. My friends, at other times, when our Teacher preached to us, my heart thought on that determination of mine, which I spoke out, saying, I would serve God when I grew old. But I began to see that eternal death hung over the young also; and when the word of God commanded me, and when I felt it was told me, and enforced on me, saying, ‘Let us forsake our sins,’ I saw then that all my works were wicked, - I began to hate evil, and to love the word of God. *If felt my sins were very heavy, and I saw that no man could save me, but Jesus Christ alone.*”

Festiri, however, was not allowed long to continue his labours, after they began to reach the heart of his little audience, without meeting with keen persecution, and that from the very person whom he had been accustomed to call *father*. One of his brothers, whom he had taught to read, returned to his heathen practices; and, after a time, he was seized with a severe illness, and was laid to appearance upon his death-bed. An elder sister died. Soga, who was still a heathen, when he saw disease and death entering his family, charged Festiri and his mother with being the cause of his afflictions. He forbade him to sing the white man’s hymns, and he accused the *mother* with bewitching the children. The sorcerer was called in, who smelled out bewitching matter, and said that the evils sprung from serving God, and praying to him. The neighbours also charged her with having obtained power over the lightning, wherewith she infused poison; and therefore they shunned her, and put up in their huts pieces of a yellow-wooded tree, as charms against her evil influence.

More than once was the sorcerer brought to *smell* the mother as a witch, the punishment of which was death. Mr Chalmers, in one of his journals, gives the following moving account of what took place, and what were his own feelings on the occasions.

“The father of Festiri has again sought to the sorcerer, owing to the sickness of one of his sons. The sorcerer has given forth his answer, that since the time when one commenced to pray, and to say that she serves God, that son has been sick. This refers to the mother of Festiri, who has been a catechumen during the past twelve months. I have exhorted her neither to fear nor to flee, but to stand forth valiantly for the truth of God. The mother, when confronted with the sorcerer and the sick son, replied, ‘My child, why do you thus provoke God? You have heard long, as well as I have done, that God is the governor of this world; that sickness and death are the fruits of sin. You, my child, were once prosperous: you commenced well, like your brother Festiri, but you cast your book behind you; you painted your body; you went back into all the vanities of the heathen, and God has laid his hand upon you. My child, if your eyes were opened, you would see that God can punish you even in this world; but you are blind, and cannot see. This female appears to stand attached to the cause of God.’”

The convictions of Mr Chalmers, as to the assistance which God imparts to his people in the day of trial, were, in the case of Nosutu (for such is her name), fully realized. Having nobly repelled the accusations of witchcraft, whereby she was said to be killing her children, she persevered as a religious inquirer, and was given to her own son as his spiritual daughter. Having been received into the class of candidates for baptism at Chumie, she was shortly afterwards baptized, as she was found well instructed in the things of God, and had proved herself faithful in the day of sore persecution.

Tiyo her son was at this time (1843) about eleven years of age. She had him placed under the care of Mr Chalmers, as being more able to give him suitable instructions than Festiri. He was an apt scholar, and soon made great improvement. Mr Chalmers thought him worthy of being educated in the higher branches of learning. For this purpose he communicated with the directors at home, and had him sent to Lovedale, where there was an institution set up by some generous persons connected with the Free Church of Scotland, and presided over by the Rev. Mr Govan, for the purpose of instructing the Caffres in all the branches of European education. Connected with it there were some bursaries for the best Caffre scholars, and one of these was obtained by Tiyo. When the late war broke out, and Mr Govan returned to Scotland, Tiyo was brought with him. Providentially he fell under the notice of Mr Henderson of Park, who quietly and generously became his supporter. He was sent to the Glasgow Free Church Normal School, where he gave great satisfaction to his teachers. His improvement has been great, and his conduct has been correct and highly commendable.

Learning that the United Presbyterian Church was about to send out the Rev. Mr Brown as a missionary to Caffraria, his heart warmed to his country and countrymen, and he expressed a desire to be sent home along with him. He had now been about eighteen months in this country, and being able to speak English well, and fully to understand religious ordinances dispensed in that tongue, he also expressed an earnest desire that he should be baptized before he went away, if he should be considered a fit subject for church fellowship.

After a long conference with the friends of the Glasgow Caffre mission, he, by his knowledge, demeanour, Christian sentiments, and testimonials of conduct, commended himself to their Christian regards. The Sabbath classes of John Street Church, Glasgow, having generously promised that they would support him, provided he was taken into the service of the society, he was recommended to the session of John Street Church, and the Rev. Mr Anderson being present, kindly agreed that, with the consent of his Session, he would deal with him as a candidate for baptism.

Most cordially did the session enter into the measure, and with their unanimous approbation, and amid many prayers and tears, was Tiyo baptized on the 7<sup>th</sup> May, being, as we are persuaded, previously baptized of the Holy Ghost.

He is to sail in the course of a few weeks with Mr Brown, who would have been away ere this time, but for the death of a beloved brother. Are not the ways of God wonderful? Mr Chalmers

sent Tiyo to the institution at Lovedale, that he might be educated for the office of a native teacher among his countrymen; and the desires of that good man are now about to be accomplished by the return of Tiyo again to Chumie; but who could have dreamed that it would ever had been in such a round-about way, and that he should have received his education in Britain itself? When he arrives in Caffreland the missionaries will judge of his fitness for office, and appoint him accordingly.  
G.S.

## Appendix R:

Private Correspondence with Angela Ashley on the finding of Soga's manuscript

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**From:** Joanne Davis  
**Subject:** **Re: Jo Davis sends greetings and request for a favour**  
**Date:** 9 September 2010 21:04:42 GMT+01:00  
**To:** Angela Ashley

Hi Angela!

[...] I just remember your saying that your husband was also very interested in Revd Soga, after he found Soga's manuscript, and that he was worried about the text's safety. When did it happen? Did it ever happen at all? Can you ask your husband about this?

Thanks very very much.

[...]

Best wishes and kindest regards

Jo

---

**From:** Angela Ashley  
**Subject:** **Re: Jo Davis sends greetings and request for a favour**  
**Date:** 2 October 2010 10:28:14 GMT+01:00  
**To:** Joanne Davis

Hi Joanne,

[...] Regarding your queries--The manuscript my husband found at Fort Hare was Soga's diary. He is not aware of any destruction of Soga manuscripts but was very concerned that the diary would not be adequately looked after. There was a lot of political activity among the students at the time, and damage had been done to the library during protests. He

drew the attention of Guy Butler to the diary's existence and he believes it was published the Grahamstown Series, which specialised in settler, missionary and military material. This would have been somewhere in the late 70's. It was about the time he left Rhodes for UCT so is a bit hazy on the details. He thinks the diary was edited by Donovan Williams (who is an ex-South African historian now living in Canada). He is not sure where the diary is now.

[...]

Best wishes,

Angela

**Appendix S:**

Soga's watch, presented to him by his class at the John Street Kirk when he returned to South African in 1857.

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Appendix T:

Kirk Street Minutes

765

28<sup>th</sup> Novem. 1871

The Committee on Foreign Missions met here today  
Inter alia:

The Sub. Committee reported as follows:

"Read letter dated 9<sup>th</sup> August of the Rev. John Cumming, who had visited the Rev. Sirjo Soga a few days before that date, and found him suffering from injury he had sustained by exposure to rain during a lengthened journey on horse-back.

Instructions the Secretary to write at once to Mr. Soga assuring him of the importance attached by the Committee to his health and comfort, as well as the value of his life, & strongly urging him at the expense of the Board to remove for a time to a suitable place for change and rest, and to express the hope of the Committee that he will on no slight grounds refuse compliance with this advice."

The Committee in approving of this ~~present~~ action of the Sub. Committee in this case, agreed to express, in view of the death of Mr. Soga their deep sense of the loss which the Caffrarian Mission & the United Presbyterian Church has sustained in the death of that eminent Missionary. The Committee desires briefly to record in harmony they believe with the entire Church and especially with those in Caffraria and in this country who had occasion more intimately to know



Mr. Soga in early and in later life, their high estimate of his character as a Christian Missionary, and as a man of God. That Character the Committee views as based first of all, & most deeply, on the grace of God that was in him; yet they regard it as manifested in his singular unselfishness, his uncommon modesty, his high honour as a Christian and as a gentleman, and in his meekness of wisdom, - qualities which, apart from his attainments as a scholar, and his eloquence as a preacher, would have given him a high place in educated society anywhere, and which unquestionably secured for him the highest place yet attained by any individual among that remarkable people whom he honoured as well as loved as his kinsmen according to the flesh, and who have established their claims on our respect by discerning in him the highest man who had ever appeared among them.

II The Secretary stated that he had received from all the brethren in Caffreland, letters expressive of their profound sorrow at the death of Mr. Soga, copious extracts from which would be found in the Record for December. He also stated that he had received a letter from Mrs. Soga, in which she had expressed her wish to leave her case in the hands of the Mission Board, but indicating her desire to bring her four young children, at present with her at Somersetville, to this country where her three eldest are prosecuting their education, that she might thus have all her children together, and might superintend their education, and thus in accordance with their late father's

-- wishes, prepare them for returning, if spared, along with her, to Caffreland where they might exert themselves on behalf of their Caffre fellow-countrymen.

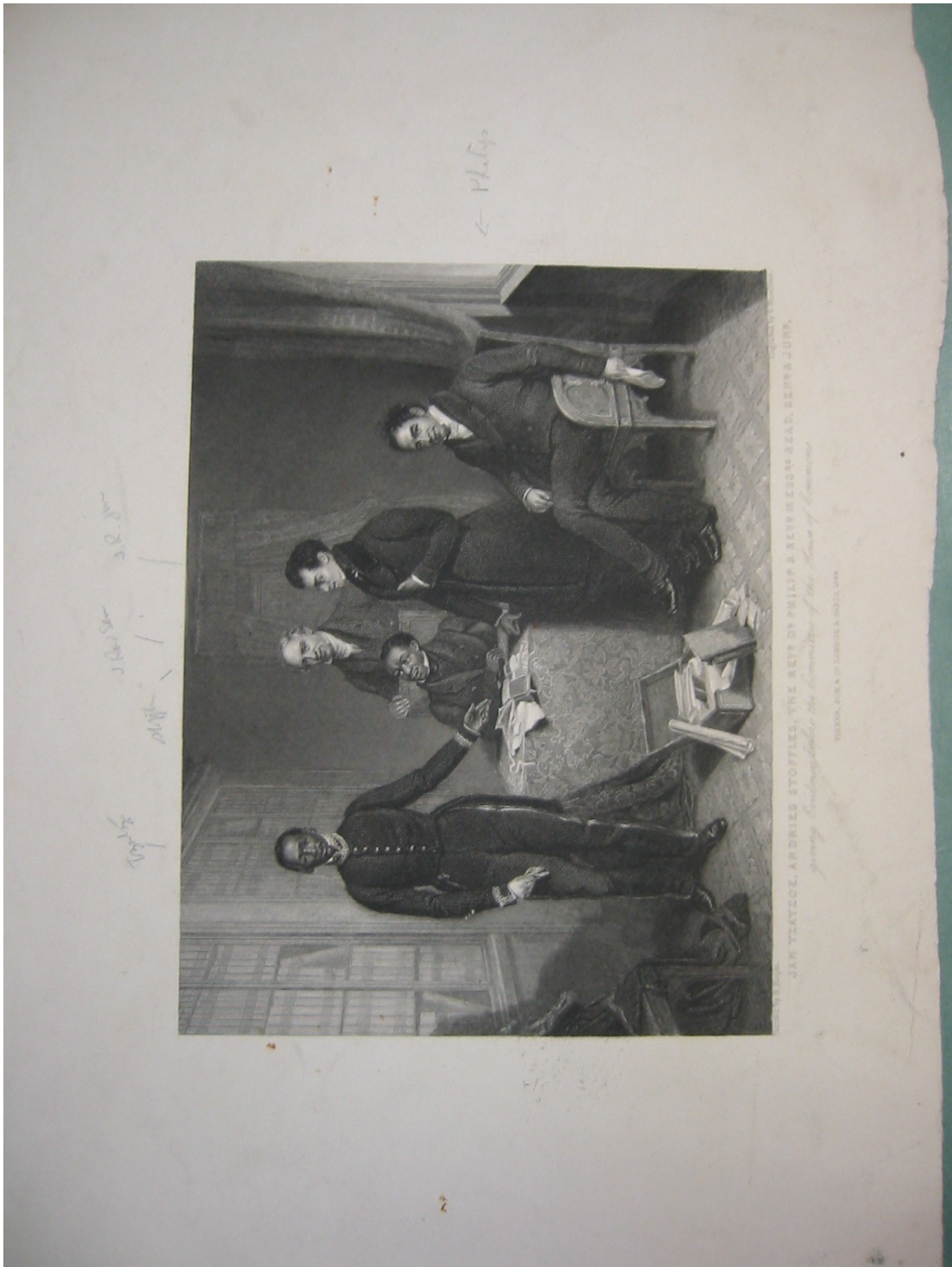
It was agreed by the Sub-Committee to delay minuting any proposal on this subject till a future meeting, and meanwhile to appoint Dr. Somerville, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Mitchell Harvey, and the Secretary, to meet with Mr. Bogue of Glasgow, and prepare suggestions for the guidance of the Sub-Committee.

Accordingly the Sub-Committee met again on the 3<sup>rd</sup>. Next when the Committee on Mr. Soga's case reported, that they had met with Mr. Bogue, and that they had read extracts of letters from the Rev. John Selater, in which he expressed his own opinion, and that of other brethren in Caffreland, in favour of Mr. Soga's removal, with her four youngest children for a time to this country. The members of the special Committee having expressed their views on this subject, and Mr. Bogue having stated, that a movement is on foot for providing funds, independently of the Mission Board, though it is hoped with their sanction and cooperation, for aiding in the future support of Mr. Soga and her children. He also stated that the contemplated movement for the assistance of Mr. Soga is irrespective of the question of her temporary removal to this country. The members of the special Committee submitted various suggestions, when it was agreed unanimously to recommend for the adoption of the Board, the following proposals:

1. That the friends of the late Mr. Soga who propose to raise a fund to aid in the support of his family, be com-

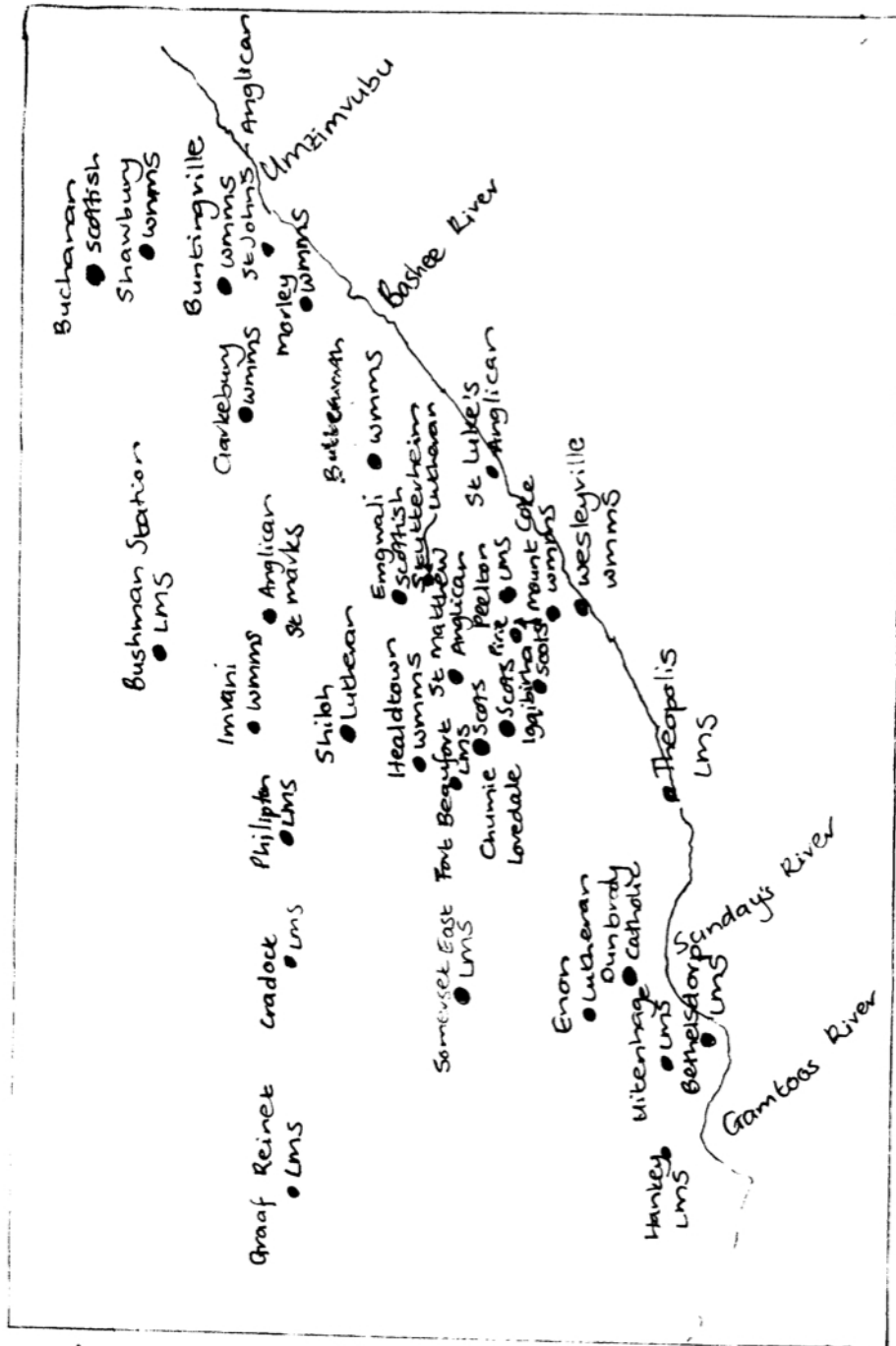
Appendix U:

Jan Tzatzoe and Andries Stoffels testifying at the High Commission, 1835.



## Appendix V:

Mission Stations in the Eastern Cape, circa. Mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. Adapted from Elphick and Davenport (1997: Front Matter).



Adapted from Elphick and Davenport 1997. Front matter.

## Appendix W:

Obituary from the CAPE ARGUS, THURSDAY, AUGUST 17, 1871

We are deeply grieved to read by telegram yesterday afternoon of the death of the Rev. Tyo Soga. This gentleman – for in the true meaning of the word he was, to all intents and purposes, a perfect gentleman – was a pure-born Kafir. His father was, and still is, a councillor of Sandilli's tribe, and an avowed heathen, in point of fact, a "red Kafir." His son, however, as a youth, was sent to the Missionary Institution at Lovedale, and there distinguished himself so much by his keen intelligence and his ready aptitude for learning, that he was sent home to Glasgow to prosecute and complete his studies at the University of that place. He went through the full curriculum required in Scotland from candidates for the ministry, and in due time was licensed and ordained as a minister-missionary of the United Presbyterian Church. Among his college class-fellows, as well as in ordinary society, he was a general favourite, and he married a lady of one of the best families in Glasgow. He returned to the Colony about fourteen years ago, and since then has laboured with great assiduity and marked ability as a missionary among his Kafir countrymen on the Frontier, -- first at Umgwali, in British Kaffraria, and afterwards, with Kreli's tribe, in the Transkei. Altogether, beyond and independent of the fact that he was a civilized Kafir, Mr Soga was in very many respects a man of mark. As a preacher, he was eloquent in speech and keen in thought, and talked with a Scottish accent, as strong as if he had been born on the banks of the Clyde, instead of those of the Kei. He took a deep interest in everything calculated to advance the civilization of his countrymen, and did so with a breadth of view and warmth of sympathy, in which mere sectarianism had no part. Among his accomplished works we may mention his translation of the Pilgrim's Progress into Kafir, which so high an authority as Mr Charles Brownlee pronounces to be a perfect masterpiece of easy idiomatic writing. His services as one of the Board of Revisers for the translation of the Bible into Kafir, have been invaluable and will now be seriously missed. And besides all this, among other things to which we happen to know, he devoted much of his attention to the collection of old Kafir legends and tales and proverbs, which, if published, would possess a very high ethnological value, and which, we trust, will still be forthcoming. Though thoroughly endowed with high European culture, he never forgot that he was a Kafir; and, indeed, he prided himself on the fact with a keen nationality of feeling, which we often heartily admired. Any insult or injustice to his countrymen, -- whom he always identified with himself,-- he would resent with a spirit as proud as if he were a Howard or a De Vere, -- though chastened with the gentleness of the Christianity which he had so heartily espoused. In general conversation and discussion on ordinary topics, he was one of the most intelligent and best informed men we ever knew; and many an hour have we spent with him, in which one utterly forgot his nationality or his colour. One particular scene of a different kind we now recall to mind, and picture to ourselves as vividly before us. It happened to be at a pic-nic party on the beach of the Cape Peninsula. After lunch, the parties present disported themselves as the fancy took them. And we can now see Tyo Soga as he lay stretched out on the sand, his head resting on a ledge of rock, his feet stretched out on another rock, he meanwhile *smoking a Kafir pipe, and reading the Saturday Review!* Unhappily, Mr. Soga's health was always delicate, and chest complaint became with him chronic. It was of this, according to the telegram, that he died – congestion of the lungs being the final issue. We once more express our sense of the loss that- the cause of missions and civilization and general progress in South Africa has sustained by the death of one of the best and most genial men we have ever had the pleasure of being acquainted with in this country.

No paragraph breaks; stress in italics above in original.

No authors or single contributors named.

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